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A NOTABLE MODERN MYSTIC

CAN a man in these days be at the same time genuinely modern and deeply, religiously, mystical? The answer depends on the meaning of the question. The two words, Modernism and Mysticism, figure largely in all current religious discussion. Both of them are used with a provoking vagueness and laxity; neither of them has been satisfactorily defined. It is, indeed, impossible to frame any exact definition of terms about the very meaning of which men still widely differ; the names remain fluid, because their usage has not yet fully crystallized. Modernism was declared by Pope Pius X to be 'the synthesis of all heresies,' while Father Tyrrell says that he means by a modernist 'a churchman of any sort who believes in the possibility of a synthesis between the essential truth of his religion and the essential truth of modernity.' Mysticism, says Noack, is 'formless speculation'; Rufus Jones finds it to be 'religion in its most acute, intense, and living stage.'

But when definitions are not used as convenient missiles to throw at the heads of opponents, it may be seen even by the 'general reader' that neither mysticism nor modernism implies a fixed creed of any kind. Each term describes a tendency, a moving current, a method or habit of mind, an outlook upon life, and a mode of apprehension in religion which it may not be easy to define with precision, but whose general character may be readily understood. The modernist emphasizes the importance of his own generation or period, and may be in danger of cutting and carving the figures of a sacred shrine in order to make them suit the changing ideas

of a rapidly changing age. The mystic, on the other hand, has his eyes fixed upon the Unseen and Eternal; he disregards the fleeting phantasmagoria of time and pays little heed to the clamours and vaunted new discoveries of the passing hour. 'The One remains, the many change and pass.' The white radiance of eternity is not to be stained by 'the dome of many-coloured glass,' which men exalt and worship as if it were life itself. The 'modern' man, he himself tells us, is not to be led astray from reality by uncensored dreams and vagrant imaginations. The mystic, on the other hand, in his place apart, gazing upon the Beatific Vision, refuses to be disturbed by the hurrying and bewildering cinematic pictures which dazzle, but do not illumine, the modern mind.

So sharp a contrast, however, presents a false antithesis. There is no essential incompatibility between these diverse workings of the human mind. It is easy, but unhelpful, to oppose the one to the many, the seen to the unseen, the temporal to the eternal. The real problem of life is only to be solved by finding the One in the Many, the Many in the One. The supernatural is not the miraculous, still less is it contra-natural. The true mystic does not belong to a company of 'ecstatics,' labelled as a class apart from ordinary humanity and avoided as impracticable and undesirable members of society. The best proof of such a statement is to be found, not in abstract argument, but in the concrete and the actual. One living example of a man of fine brain, in touch with the intellectual and moral movements of his own time, awake to its needs and not content with any outlook upon the universe which does not meet and satisfy them—who at the same time is 'spectator of all time and existence,' who holds constant communion with the unseen, who knows God and is known of Him in daily experience—furnishes the kind of proof that is needed. Such men may be rare, but most of us have known more than one. Such a man—saint, as well as scholar, and within his own limits

a discerning man of affairs—shows the varied capacities and many-sided possibilities of ordinary human nature, and is rightly regarded as a leader of men, a supreme example of the modern mystic.

Such a man was Baron Friedrich von Hügel—a name known and honoured by many of our readers. He died more than two years ago, but quite lately there has been published a volume¹ which for the first time will make known to a wider public the impressive personality of a leader of the vanguard in the army of light. An able critic with no theological prepossessions has recently characterized von Hügel in similar terms, saying that 'from whatever camp his work be regarded, he has proved himself a great servant of humanity in the spiritual advance.' It is from that standpoint that we propose briefly to describe his character and teaching.

Von Hügel himself enables us to distinguish the shades of meaning attaching to the words modernism and mysticism. In a letter to Miss Petre (p. 248) he speaks of two kinds of modernism. 'The one is a permanent, never quite finished, set of attempts to express the old Faith according to the best and most abiding elements in the philosophy and scholarship and science of the latest times. Such work never ceases for long, and to it I still try to contribute my little share.' The other modernism he describes as a strictly circumscribed affair, a movement within Roman Catholicism, headed by Loisy, Tyrrell, and others, begun and 'really over and done with' in his own lifetime. And in another letter, to Father Tyrrell (p. 71), the Baron deals with several kinds of mysticism. He gives a minute and illuminating description of the mystics of his own Church in the past, and discriminates between what he can, and cannot, accept in their teaching. But the meaning of the two terms in their conjunction is best brought out in a letter to

¹*Baron Fr. von Hügel: Selected Letters*, edited, with a Memoir, by Bernard Holland. (J. M. Dent & Sons, 1927. 21s. net.)

Mr. Wilfrid Ward, not included in the present volume, 'What,' asks Baron von Hügel, 'is the all-important *apologia* for religion in our days?' And the answer given is, 'The combination of a keen, subtle, open-eyed, historical and philosophical spirit with a childlike claimlessness and devoted faith.' 'And this,' he adds, 'all the theorizing in the world cannot replace, though it can easily for a time suppress it, or drive it elsewhere.' In other words, the only argument which will convince the educated world of the truth of religion is a spirit of mystical modernism, embodied in a devoted life. As St. Paul puts it, a living man is the best kind of epistle, 'written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God.' Such a man must love God with his mind by a fearless acceptance of truth new and old; he must love also with his heart and soul in living and intimate communion with the living God; and he must love and serve God with all his strength in the manifold activities of willing service. Such a defence of religion has seldom been more completely and persuasively presented than in the life of von Hügel himself. It has been said that it is the distinctive mark of a saint that he makes it easier for men to believe in God. Before us in this volume is portrayed a man who possessed pre-eminently this mark. Saint and scholar in one, a modern philosopher and a profound mystic, he possessed in the region of religious thought the insight of a seer, and in his life of humble worship and loyal obedience he served God with the heart of a little child.

Friedrich von Hügel, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, was born at Florence in May 1852, and died in Kensington in January 1925. He was the son of an Austrian noble, Baron Carl von Hügel, who late in life married a Scotch lady, a Presbyterian, who soon after her marriage joined the Church of Rome. At the age of twenty-one Friedrich married Lady Mary Herbert, daughter of Sidney Herbert, Gladstone's friend and colleague. Their three accomplished daughters were all born British subjects. Von Hügel made

his home in this country, and was to all intents and purposes English, though he had had no experience of an English Public School or University and never fully acquired ease and mastery of style in the English language. His education, under Continental tutors, made him a convinced Roman Catholic and left a lifelong mark upon his deeply religious character. He maintained an extensive correspondence with Continental scholars of various types, including Loisy, Brémond, and Sabatier on the one hand, and Eucken and Troeltsch on the other.

At the time of the modernist movement, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, von Hügel at first sympathized heartily with the Reformers. His mind was essentially 'modern.' Influenced to some slight extent by Newman, he was strongly moved by the latter-day currents of Darwinism in biology, of literary and biblical criticism, of historical research and the application of historical method, and of evolution—not only in its relation to biology as a science, but as affecting the philosophy of history and human life in all its aspects. In 1903 he occupied much the same intellectual position as Loisy; but thenceforward their paths diverged, Loisy moving farther and farther to the left, till he lost hold, not only of Catholicism, but of Christianity. Von Hügel's standpoint was different. We are enabled in these letters to watch his influence over Tyrrell, whom he tried in vain to restrain—the two men, though close friends, being as different as possible in gifts and in temperament. The later history of Father Tyrrell was tragic; he was deprived of the sacraments of the Church, and what this means perhaps no Protestant can fully understand. The Baron often feared that he would suffer the same deprivation; he himself wrote that the cup of official grievance against him was filled almost to overflowing. His biographer adds, 'Probably there was not much danger of deprivation, although he was certainly regarded at Rome with suspicion and treated with coldness down to the end of his life. His

books were not condemned.' Dom Butler said in the *Tablet*, 'The authorities, no doubt, knew the influence he was wielding in circles outside the Catholic Church, and did not think it advisable that that influence should be weakened. . . . Also they well knew the man himself.'

His religious influence, especially upon certain minds hard to reach, was wide and deep, and it continued to increase until his death. Father Butler described them as 'trained intellectual men, high-minded, often either outside the pale of Christianity or on its borderland, with felt religious needs, yet not seeing how to accept the basic position of theism.' They were—and how many such are still in our midst—'enmeshed in the theories of pantheism, monism, idealism, and various philosophical misbeliefs,' and to these von Hügel brought home with singular power 'the great theistic truth of the transcendent, spiritual, personal God, and man's relation to Him.' He was a member of the Synthetic Society, a kind of successor to the famous Metaphysical Society; and, later, he actively interested himself in the London Society for the Study of Religion, founded in 1908 and still flourishing. The Baron was at his best in the papers he read before this society and the more or less impromptu addresses delivered at its meetings. Of one of these Mr. Edwyn Bevan wrote an account to *The Times*, which Mr. Holland quotes, ending with these words:

Those who heard the Baron speak at one of these meetings will never forget it—the grey hair standing up from his forehead, the large, dark eyes in a face as of fine ivory, the divine fire which seemed to fill him, the passionate sense of the reality of God, which broke forth in volcanic utterance, strange bits of slang and colloquialisms mingling with magnificent phrases, and left him, when he ended, exhausted and trembling.

Many of his friends testify to the simplicity and naturalness with which he talked of religion—a power which Englishmen too seldom attain. One friend writes, 'He had the innocence

of a child and was always in the presence of God. I shall never forget when in the Tyrol he talked to me of God, his whole soul absorbed in God.' Mr. Holland very pertinently adds, 'Of how many men whom one has met could one say that? And, above all, of how many men of vast learning? One imagines St. Thomas Aquinas like that, and Sir Thomas More.'

The deep religious impression made by this man's very presence and speech is testified to by diverse hearers of all types. Mr. Holland quotes several such; we can find room for two only. Archbishop Söderblom, of Upsala, says that, when he heard of von Hügel's death, his first act was to praise God on his knees, 'because He has given to our age that great lover of mankind, that penetrator into the very mysteries of the human heart and religion, that universal teacher and blessed saint. . . . No other man in our age has, as far as I can see, become a teacher to seeking and believing souls, in all the chief sections of the entire Church of Christ, as von Hügel.' Bishop Talbot, formerly of Winchester, wrote, 'I always felt unworthy of the extraordinary generosity and humility with which he treated me—he who was such a tower of strength and treasure of learning, and master in character and saintliness. How wonderful he was in his intellectual scrupulousness and accuracy, his quick and warm sympathies, his splendid inclusiveness of outlook, his love of small people and his humble ways. Why, one asks, are there not more such hero-saints, such loving sages?'

The letters selected by Mr. Holland cover three hundred closely printed pages, and will prove a treasure-house to those who know how to use them. They date from 1896 to 1924, and illustrate the wonderful many-sidedness of the writer, in knowledge, in sympathy, and in wise and tender counsel. His correspondence with Loisy is not reproduced, but the letters to Father Tyrrell are numerous, every one of them marked by blended wisdom and affection. Amongst

other correspondents addressed are Abbé Houtin, Hébert, Miss Petre, Professors Clement Webb and Percy Gardner, Bishop Talbot, and Dr. Claude Montefiore. But, in some respects, the most interesting of all are those written to a dear niece, 'G. G.'; a girl friend, 'J. M.'; and other young people. In some of these the erudite philosopher is at his very best because his abundant knowledge is conveyed in a simple, artless, and often playful style to which the learned man, alas! would not always condescend. His language in the *Mystical Element*, and the other earlier works with which he took most pains, was always weighty, and too often ponderous—overloaded with parentheses and modifying clauses, every word carefully considered, and every sentence conveying the meaning of three or four, most of them requiring to be read again and again before their meaning is fully grasped. We have counted on certain pages three or four consecutively, each containing some 150 words! His friend Tyrrell had little patience with this cumbrous style. In one place he writes, 'Your paper on "Official Authority" requires awful concentration of attention. *For you*, each word is chosen and placed with full explicit consciousness and meaning. But what audience will appreciate that? Not even the Cherubim and Seraphim. I think you might consider the average mind a little more. Solid, liquid, gas—are the three forms in which thought can be presented; the last for an audience, the second for a book, the first for an archangel in retreat.' But these are the days of 'gas'!

The Baron, as he was affectionately called, preferred and provided for his readers food of the most solid kind. But he was no mere Dryasdust, as his letters to 'G. G.' and other young friends abundantly show. These do not lend themselves to quotation, but the comments upon Milton and Shakespeare, upon early Christian Fathers and modern pagan novels, give abundant proof of his shrewdness and vivacity on occasion. In an appendix the biographer quotes from the remarks made by Baron F. von Hügel

at a meeting of the Committee to inquire into Religion in the Army, 1917.

Look at the young men from our large Public Schools ; they have not had the boy knocked out of them ; it will remain in them to the end of the chapter—the self-consciousness of the boy who does not dare to come out of his skin—the boy who is ashamed to be even accused of thinking. . . . I think myself that, with Tommy on the one hand, who knows nothing, and the upper-middle classes, who are ashamed of knowing something, there is great danger lest we should put forward the wrong programme. . . . But without richness, without suggesting entire worlds, our message would lack all—I feel that strongly. There are things beyond Tommy, and, the minute he wakes up to this primary fact, we shall have a sign that he is saved.

Space will not allow of our describing the characteristics of von Hügel's published works, every one of them packed full of meat for thoughtful students of religion. His book on *Eternal Life*, which grew out of an article which proved too long for the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, is, perhaps, especially to be recommended. As rich in religious teaching and exposition as his more elaborate volumes, it is clearer in style, more biblical and less metaphysical in expression than his elaborate work on *The Mystical Element in Religion*. His article on the Fourth Gospel in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives ample proof of his scholarship, his fearless criticism, and his devout insight into the deeper teaching of Scripture.

But the *Reality of God*—the title of the book on which he was engaged at the time of his death—was the theme which lay nearest to von Hügel's mind and heart, the mere mention of which moved his soul to the very depths. He was, it is true, a convinced and enthusiastic Roman Catholic ; his attachment to the Church in which he was born and brought up was earnest and thorough. But he was no Ultramontane, and in many respects was utterly out of sympathy with the Curia and its methods. When his reputation was yet in its early stages, he was styled in *The*

Times 'the greatest living apologist of the Roman Catholic Church,' but the Baron protested against such classification, and wrote, 'Having hoped to do well in the dog class, I was hugely discomfited at being given the first prize among the cats!' His paper on Roman Catholicism published amongst *Essays and Addresses* shows a whole-hearted loyalty to his Mother Church, but he frankly acknowledged that he 'learned much and gratefully from anti-Roman books,' Anglican and others. Many of his fellow Catholics may well have looked somewhat askance at this 'apologist' who says, 'Nonconformists, as a rule, are refreshing to me, I am comfortable with them; if I get among a lot of jolly, middle-class Nonconformists, I feel at home.' Almost every page of this volume bears witness to a wide and far-seeing outlook, both intellectual and religious, as well as to a truly Catholic—not Romanist—largeness of heart and breadth of sympathy.

To understand the relation between the various aspects of this many-sided religious teacher, readers would do well to study the instructive second chapter in the first volume of his chief work, where the three constituent factors of religion are described. These are (1) the Historical and Institutional, (2) the Rational, Analytical, and Speculative, and (3) the Experimental and Mystical, Elements. Von Hügel lays quite sufficient stress upon institutional religion, often he estimates it far too highly. But it was not the institutional element which gave to his own personal religion its depth and power and enabled him to exercise such a marvellous influence upon all who knew him. He himself drank of the stream at the Fountain-Head, in the presence of God Himself, and thus could lead others to the clear and deep waters at their very source. Speaking on one occasion of a great writer's hard work and sacrifice, he added, 'But there was no religion in it.' 'What is religion, then?' his friend asked. 'Religion is Adoration,' answered the Baron. I have thought of it ever since. On another occasion he said, 'The sense of the

Objective, full Reality of God, and the need of Adoration, are quite essential to Religion.'

This notable utterance, 'Religion is Adoration,' is remote indeed from the modern spirit, as usually understood. Modernity exalts man, not God. Time spent in contemplation and worship is supposed to be worse than wasted, because it is just so much subtracted from the 'getting things done.' That the soul is steadily being impoverished, and made incapable of the highest and most enduring work, by thus making itself and its own activities the centre of all, does not occur to the 'modern' mind, or occurs only to be at once rejected. But, as we have already said, here in reality lay the very power of von Hügel's religion and the secret of his influence. 'My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I reach the presence of God?' is not merely the cry of a psalmist dead and gone these thousands of years. It represents the deep need of living men, even though many of them say that they know nothing, and believe little, as to the very existence of a God. In the second volume of *Essays and Addresses* von Hügel published a chapter entitled 'The Facts and Truths concerning God and the Soul which are of most importance in the Life of Prayer.' It is a golden chapter, and, if its teaching were acted out, it would revolutionize the prayers, and therefore the lives, of many excellent persons. The Presence and Prevenience of God are the root-facts of all that is here so well said.

God is the Absolute Cause, the Ultimate Reason, the sole true End, of our existence, of our persistence, of our essential calls and requirements. God is all these things for man. Man comes to his true self by loving God. God is the very ocean of Himself—of Love—apart from all creation. Hence the most fundamental need, duty, honour, and happiness of man is not petition, nor contrition, nor even thanksgiving—these kind of prayers must never disappear from our lives—but adoration.

'Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end' may

be the burden of the songs of heaven, but it is not the motto of the religion of to-day. We do not say that the first great commandment as laid down by Christ is the only one, nor that the love enjoined in it is a merely vague, emotional abstraction. But the comparative neglect of this element in modern religion largely accounts for its poverty and ineffectiveness. It was the absence of true 'creatureliness' which von Hügel deplored in the life of the human spirit to-day, and which he set himself, as far as he could, to remedy. It is not, he says in one place, mere littleness in one's own eyes, such as is present in some of the moods of an Epictetus and a Marcus Aurelius. 'Not the sense of my littleness amidst a huge World Machine, or World Soul, or World Process, but of my weakness and poverty as measured by perfect Spirit—the Spirit, not myself, yet sufficiently like me to humble me whilst sustaining me.' It is not Theism as part of a theological system that is here commended, though von Hügel has much to say concerning God in His Transcendence, His Otherness, His Supremacy. Von Hügel shows the weakness and shallowness of current Immanentism—the worship, as moderns say, not of a God whom they do not know, but of the Universe and the Spirit of Man, which they know very well. Against this virtual pantheism the Baron made perpetual protest. And that, not because he was not modern in every fibre of his being, but because his mystical insight made the Supreme Personal God a living reality to him.

In the letter to Mr. Wilfrid Ward from which we have already quoted, von Hügel divides minds into two classes, the one 'mystical and positive,' the other 'scholastic and theoretical.' Although his own intellect was powerful on the scholastic and metaphysical side, in religion he was essentially mystical and positive. This type of mind, he says, 'would see all truth as a centre of intense light losing itself gradually in utter darkness; this centre would gradually extend, but the borders would ever remain fringe;

they could never become clear-cut lines. Such a mind, when weary of border-work, would sink back upon its centre, its home of peace and light, and thence it would gain fresh conviction and courage to face again the twilight and the dark.' The true mystic does not seek to convert and instruct the one-sided modern by propounding an elaborate system of 'clear-cut lines' extending over the whole universe with exact precision. He has his own Centre of truth with its shining light and glowing heat, in the presence of which he can not only think deeply and feel intensely, but also lose himself in worship and adoration. It matters little to such a worshipper that the 'fringe' in the field of his vision is dim and vague. Knowing only in part, he is prepared to find that the light of his knowledge fades away into darkness. The Sun—which for the Christian means the glory of God seen in the face of Christ—burns in splendour, kindling and raying forth the light of life in all its fullness. The power to 'geometrize,' as Plato loved to say, to map out the solar system in all its details—planets and asteroids, comets and nebulae—comes to the race of men gradually, sometimes very slowly, sometimes, as in our own day, with a bewildering rush, sweeping all before it. The accurate delimitation of system does not of itself engender either light or heat. That must come direct from the central sun, from whence, sooner or later, it will spread to earth's farthest poles.

For not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light ;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright !

Many other points of interest and importance in this fascinating volume had been marked for comment, but space forbids. We close with a brief reference to the remarkable address on 'Suffering in God' which was delivered to the L.S.S.R. in May 1921 and is described in a letter to 'G. G.' as marking 'the end of a big strain.' Those

who have carefully read this address, with its closing description of a certain Good Friday in Rome twenty years before, will not be surprised to hear that the expenditure of feeling in its delivery was great, and left the venerable speaker utterly exhausted. Baron von Hügel felt himself constrained on this occasion to make an impassioned protest against the rapidly growing idea of a suffering God, and it would appear that his views were not shared even by some of his best friends. The drift of the arguments cannot, of course, be reproduced here. The Baron's conclusion, however, is that in the ever-blessed God there is sympathy, overflowing sympathy, but not suffering, strictly speaking; while in Christ there is suffering, overflowing suffering, but it is in Him as man, not as God. Those who have read Dr. J. K. Mozley's book on this deep and difficult subject will remember that—quite apart from the Patripassian controversy—opinion in the history of the Church mainly supports von Hügel's view, but that the trend of modern opinion is decidedly the other way. Our own view, given with diffidence, is that the difference of opinion among theologians, while not to be dismissed as a mere logomachy, is not so serious as it might appear. In a close and thorough discussion such as neither Dr. Mozley nor any other writer, so far as we know, has given us, the two sides would be found not very far apart. Amongst men, sympathy and suffering are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to separate them, and the derivation of the word 'sympathy' identifies the two. Von Hügel, however, felt very deeply that, for the deepest religious thought and feeling, the doctrine is necessary that 'Pure joy always abides in God as God.' A closer study, it seems to us, is needed of what is meant by the unquestioned fact that, upon earth, for many, pain is an essential factor in the development of the purest joy. From thence it is but a step to von Hügel's position that sympathy in the heart of the Eternal cannot mean eternal suffering, as the word is generally understood.

We take reluctant leave of one who in religion is a companion because he is thoroughly modern, and a teacher because he is profoundly mystic. He believes in the victory of right, in the triumph of joy. In a touching letter to Tyrrell, written in troublous times, he says, 'I *do* feel that at bottom, and in the long run, *all is well*.' That is, it will be found in the end that the slow, unintelligible periods of darkness through which the best men, just because they are the best men, have to pass 'are occasioned by, and have a place in, the ever-deepening apprehension of the mystery of life and love.' This is what St. Paul meant when he said that the keenest agonies of our present life are only the pains of travail, ushering in new life. And this is why the same apostle speaks of a '*light* affliction which is but for a moment' because it works out for the faithful an eternal weight of glory. God is Love; in this life love itself must, sooner or later, bring pain, but such pain prepares the steep and toilsome, and glorious, upward path which leads to joy for evermore.

Readers, especially ministers, who may be induced by this fragmentary and inadequate article to make a careful study of the works of Baron Friedrich von Hügel will assuredly rejoice in the help afforded by a religious leader who, as a modern mystic, even on this side of the grave allured to brighter worlds and led the way.

W. T. DAVISON.

WORLD UNITY THROUGH CHRIST

THE facility and the security of travel around the shores of the Mediterranean were greater than in any previous century, and greater than in any century since until we reach the nineteenth, when Paul the Jew set forth to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. The law and order of Rome, the language and culture of Greece, the morals and religion of the Jewish Diaspora, had unified the world so far as to give a unique opportunity to a religion which claimed to be for all mankind ; but it was Paul who recognized the imperative obligation. Before his conversion he had had confidence in the flesh, because he was 'circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews ; as touching the law, a Pharisee ; as touching zeal, persecuting the Church ; as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless.' After his conversion he counted all these his privileges as a Jew as refuse, that he might gain Christ and be found in Him. He was with Christ crucified to Jewish particularism, and was with Christ raised to Christian universalism.

Around him was a world divided by sex, by class, by culture, by race, by religion ; he saw its unity in Christ and His Cross. Sharpest was the division of Jew and Gentile, for here religious antagonism strengthened racial antipathy ; but even this was abolished in Him who 'is our peace, who made both one, and broke down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in His flesh the enmity . . . that He might make in Himself of the twain one new man, so making peace.' As the messenger of Christ he acknowledged himself to be 'debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, to the wise and to the foolish,' and also to the Romans. He recognized that all differences were transcended in the common life in Christ. 'There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither

bond nor free, there can be no male and female ; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' In Christ Jesus neither 'circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision ; but faith working through love.' 'Neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.' 'For in one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free.' In this body 'there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman : but Christ is all, and in all.' Here is the promise and pledge of *world unity through Christ*.

The proclamation of this principle of Christian universalism is easier than its application to the concrete conditions of human society. Paul has sometimes been blamed for not applying the principle to the sexes. That the Jewish Rabbi survived in the apostle must be conceded ; and Paul is not always at his Christian best when he is writing about woman. But when he forbids Christian women challenging and defying the current customs of social propriety he is displaying heavenly wisdom as well as earthly prudence ; for there were limitations on the liberty of women then which were necessary for their protection. So, again, the letter to Philemon, in which the institution of slavery is not challenged, nor any proposal made for its abolition, is not inconsistent with the principle. The recognition of the common brotherhood in Christ of the master and the slave was the safe and sure way of leading society towards the abolition of slavery. Though the Christian principle is revolutionary, the method of its application must be evolutionary.

There are differences so divisive that the principle involves their abolition, as of slavery. There are other differences which need not be abolished, but may be transformed into bonds of unity in Christ. So is it with the difference of sex. 'Neither is the woman without the man nor the man without the woman, in the Lord.' In Christian marriage a unity of love is reached which cleanses, hallows, and blesses the difference. To me at least the difference of nationality is

not, like slavery, to be abolished, but, like sex, to be transformed. Christian universalism does not demand a cosmopolitanism, in which patriotism expires, but an internationalism, in which patriotism aspires to make the variety of nations an enrichment and enlargement of the unity of mankind. To secure this unity in Christ some of the differences must be abolished ; others can be so transformed as to become conditions of the realization of the unity.

Again, the motto of the French Revolution, ' Liberty, equality, and fraternity,' cannot be accepted, as regards the principle of equality, without qualification, if equality be taken in an external, quantitative sense. Neither does the recognition of *individual liberty* on the one hand, nor the realization of *social fraternity* on the other hand, demand such equality. In a body not all the organs are alike, nor have they the same function ; the variety is the condition of unity ; the equality of the sexes does not mean that women are to try to do everything that men do, regardless of the physical differences sex involves, nor that they assert their equality by depreciating, as some of them do, that one function—motherhood—which God has assigned to them as their exclusive function and (may I add ?) peculiar privilege. The imitation of men some women affect is an imitation which wise men will not regard as the sincerest form of flattery. So, again, the equality of nations does not mean that every savage or semi-civilized people is straightway to be released from the guardianship of a civilized nation, and to be endowed with full independence. As a child needs to be taught and trained, so does a child-people. The mandatory system of the League of Nations is no violation of the Christian principle, although in practice it may sometimes prove to be. Equality of black and white in Christ does not mean that all European missionaries should at once be withdrawn, and the native converts be left to their own devices. In several fields that policy of withdrawal before the time has proved disastrous.

Instead of the term equality I should very much prefer to substitute the term *justice*; for it recognizes differences where it is not only impossible to abolish differences, but even necessary that the differences should be preserved, if what is best both for all the parts, as well as for the whole, of the social unity should be attained. While in Plato's *Republic* the differences of rulers, guardians, and workers is made too rigid, and so involves injustice, yet the general idea of justice is right—that it means each member in his own place, doing his own work. Where we must go beyond Plato is in insisting that each child shall have such opportunity of education as will allow each man or woman to reach the place and undertake the work for which the individual capacity and character qualify.

It is by the idea of justice and not of equality that we must interpret the Golden Rule. The difference of position and function must always be recognized in its application. I do not lecture to, and examine, my students because I desire to be lectured and examined by them, but because, if I were a student with a due regard to my own interests, I should so desire. Not the wishes of another, but the interest so far as our truest moral judgement can determine, must guide us. To apply the rule we must change places with the other man, and yet judge his situation, not necessarily as he does, but as he should. Thus justice involves *sympathy*. To carry out the rule we must, as the American humorist put it, 'be the other fellow.' This explanation of the principle seems necessary if it is to be wisely applied in practice.

The application of the principle of equality or, rather, justice must recognize the principle of liberty—the opportunity for the fullest self-development and self-expression possible for the individual in his position and function within society. But we are not here concerned at present with this principle, but with the principle of fraternity, or unity. Differences that divide must be altogether abolished, differences must be transformed which can cease to divide and can

be used to unify, in order that unity—fraternity—may be secured. An organism in which the members are subordinated to the whole, and do not realize life in themselves, is not an adequate analogy ; but we must rise to the conception of community, the term which can translate the Greek word *Koinonia*, the community of the Holy Spirit. In this each member realizes himself most fully as he realizes his relation to the other members ; the *intension* of the content of personality is proportionate to the *extension* of the relations to other persons. A man is more a man as he is son, husband, father, worker, citizen, patriot, a member of the body of Christ. This consideration must be insisted on, as selfishness leads to the false belief that the maintenance of these inequalities is necessary to self-interest ; and that self-interest will be sacrificed if the interest of the social unity, whatever it may be, is asserted as the dominant principle for action. Men only find their own real life as they lose it in the real, larger life of the whole of family, nation, race, or Church. Equality, interpreted as justice, based on sympathy, conserves liberty and secures fraternity.

During the last century the world has been more rapidly unified in many respects than in any previous age. Train, steamer, and aeroplane have been lessening the hindrance to unity from distance ; telegraph, telephone, and wireless have almost abolished space as preventing human intercourse. Industry must draw most of its raw material (cotton, wool, rubber, oil) from all parts of the world. Commerce must seek markets at the ends of the earth. To America has flowed a constant stream of migration, men of all peoples, races, colours ; and it has become the melting-pot into which every type of humanity is being passed, and what the complete product will be who can now dare to forecast ? The sons and daughters of Great Britain have scattered over the face of the earth, and, with all their passion for independence, remain one in a world-wide commonwealth of nations. The

science of Europe is undermining the religious beliefs of Japan, China, and India, and attempts are being made to adapt ancestral faiths to present knowledge. The evils of European industrialism in the last century are being reproduced in the Orient in this. While modern industry and commerce may bring the benefit of a higher standard of life, a fuller satisfaction of human need, to less-developed peoples, on the other hand, injury is being inflicted by the exploitation of such peoples by the greed and selfishness of the race which claims superiority. That claim, once accepted, is now being challenged in Asia and Africa. The ideal of self-determination, which was used by the victors in the late war as an excuse for the dismemberment of lands of the vanquished, is being asserted in India, and especially China, with, it must be added, little regard to vital interests. Christian missions, during the century and a quarter in which they have been inspired by the world-wide outlook, have carried the gospel to all lands, but have not yet enthroned Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord in the thought and life of all mankind. Their importance is not to be measured by the number of converts, the expansion of the mustard-seed, but by the influence of Christian ideas and ideals in societies still pagan—the pervasion of the leaven. The unification is much more advanced on the material than the spiritual plane of human interest and effort; there is more approach to unity in outward organization than in inward inspiration, in the body than in the soul of mankind.

The unification itself has often tended rather to provoke division than to promote unity. There is probably keener rivalry in industry and commerce among the nations than there ever was; more peril of conflict in the competition for raw material in open markets. The war has left behind many unsolved problems; the countries have been so divided as to leave behind violent national antagonisms, not restrained by religion, but even intensified by religious prejudices; political oppression and religious persecution go

hand in hand in Eastern Europe. We may have got rid of one Alsace Lorraine, but have created four on the borders of Hungary—whether justly or not does not alter the peril. That racial antagonism has been increased who can doubt. The world war destroyed the awe the coloured man has felt for the white, a feeling which has kept him in subjection. The colour-bar, which has been established by law in South Africa, excluding all who have a drop of native blood from skilled employment; the attempts of the white colonists in Kenya Colony to secure forced native labour; the criticisms to which the enlightened native policy in West Africa has been subjected by British capitalists—are only illustrations of the futile and, they may prove, disastrous efforts to maintain the white dominance where it is being challenged. The opposition to the mandatory system, in which the British Government had a regrettable prominence, is further evidence of unwillingness to face the existing situation. In such ways are we discovering that nearness may provoke bitterness and not promote friendship, that unless there is a moral and religious unity which so dominates the material unification as to exclude the friction, which is otherwise inevitable, the last state of the world might be worse than the first.

Material civilization and mental culture do not themselves unite, but may even divide. A morality which is based on the recognition of a common humanity as its guiding principle, subordinating all differences, may sustain many in their efforts for justice to all, rooted in sympathy for all. We should acknowledge cordially and gratefully how much worthy effort for the common human good has been inspired by a humanitarianism which sought no sanction and found no motive in religion. In philanthropic devotion and sacrifice some unbelievers have put the majority of Christians to shame. We must frankly confess that there is a great deal of professed Christianity which holds out no hope, and offers no help. The majority of those who voted in South Africa

for the law just mentioned would probably regard themselves as Christian men. A Christian bishop has even been found to pronounce a justification for forced labour. The division between white and coloured Churches in America shows that there is a type of Christianity which has not yet learned Paul's universalism. There are sincere German Christians who hold that patriotism is the highest moral obligation, and the State the supreme moral entity. Acknowledging the two facts—the failure of many Christians to rise to the Christian ideal of world unity through Christ, and the efforts of unbelievers for world unity apart from Christ—we may yet assert the conviction that it is in the Christian religion, restored from all perversions to its original type, that we can alone find a religion comprehensive and potent enough to become the general and constant inspiration of a morality in which men 'the world o'er shall brithers be and a' that.'

We must frankly acknowledge that there are differences, physical and psychical, which make it difficult to assert and maintain moral and religious unity. It is possible, if not probable, that these differences may be so fundamental that so intimate a relation of body and soul, such as is involved in marriage, is not to be advocated, even although, where love can transcend the difference, generally there is no justification for disapproval. Differences in the stage of development reached, the standard of life adopted, the traditions and conventions inherited, may be a barrier to intimacy in social relations, although they cannot be pleaded as a reason for discourtesy; but in moral estimates and obligations no superiority may be arrogated, nor inferiority be inflicted, on the ground of any of these differences. Nay, from the Christian standpoint any personal advantage implies the obligation not to require, but to render, such service as the superior endowment makes possible. He who can carry his own burden is the more bound to carry the burdens of others. The principle of world unity through Christ should, for every Christian, determine the moral conduct in every human

relationship, domestic, industrial, commercial, national, and international or interracial. As God is revealed in Christ, He sets an infinite value on every human soul; He has so personal an interest in every human life that the soul's ruin is His grief and its recovery His joy. He wills the salvation of all from sin, to be His children through the sacrifice of His Son. Jesus Christ is the Saviour and Lord of all, without any distinction. Each man may become a habitation of God's Spirit; and all mankind may grow into a holy temple in the Lord. Such an idea of God and such an ideal for man would so abolish or transform all differences which divide, that justice, based on sympathy, inspired by love for man, itself flowing out of the love for God, which is man's response to God's love, would determine and dominate all human relations, and so give to the world the unity for which God's providence is preparing it, but which it has as yet failed to attain.

Although this moral ideal might in part be realized by those who do not fully share the Christian religion, yet the world unity we desire cannot be completed until mankind is one in faith, hope, and love toward Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. It is only as He, on His Cross and Throne, draws men unto Himself that they will be brought so near to one another as to become His body, the community of the Holy Spirit. A common life in Him alone can make mankind completely one. The moral conduct needs the religious sanction and motive; but that is not the sole reason for desiring the universality of the Christian religion. The fellowship of souls in Him is itself good; may we not even say the highest good? When, through the mediation of Christ, God shall be all things in all men, when the whole manhood of all mankind shall be perfected through Christ in God, then will the world unity be consummated. We must hope, and pray, and labour, not only for the growth of the Christian morality, but also for the spread of the Christian religion; for the Christian experience of divine grace makes the

Christian character of human goodness ; the Christ-life within makes the Christ-like life without. Only as all men abide in Christ can they bring forth the fruits of the human brotherhood.

The Church is the body of Christ, the voice through which He speaks, the hands by which He works, the feet to go on His errands. Can a divided Church be the instrument of this world unity in Christ ? For it is not enough that there be the invisible unity in the spirit ; that unity must be made manifest to the world to be effective in the world, in a common witness, worship, work. It is most lamentable that men refuse to recognize the incalculable loss to the Church's testimony, influence, and authority in the world that these divisions involve. It is most regrettable that they fail to recognize the invaluable gain to the Church's dominion in the world that such a manifestation of its essential unity would secure. It is because I am absolutely convinced how great is the loss of division, and how great would be the gain of unity, that I offer this heartfelt plea. Let us, recognizing that world unity through Christ can be effected only by the manifest unity of His Church, realize that neither episcopacy availeth anything, nor non-episcopacy, but faith working through love ; that differences of creed, code, ritual, polity are as nothing in comparison with the new creature in Christ Jesus ; that Christ on His Cross is breaking down every middle wall of partition, that He might create in Himself of all the Churches only one Church, His body, the fulfilment of Him that fulfilleth all in all.

In this connexion I desire very earnestly to call attention to the three international movements which are labouring to promote the unity of the Christian Churches. (a) The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches has as its specific aim the prevention of war, and the promotion of peace by the influence of the Christian Churches ; all communions except the Roman are represented in it. (b) Copec, in 1924, brought the Christian Churches of

Great Britain and Ireland together to consider how a Christian order could be established in the spheres of politics, economics, and citizenship. The sequel to Copec was the Stockholm Conference of 1925, when thirty-one Christian communions out of thirty-seven nations conferred together about Christian life and work. The continuation committee of that conference met in Berne last year, and it was cheering to find how the work of reconciliation among Christians, lately at war, is progressing. This same committee met in Winchester this July, to further this co-operation of all the Churches in the application of the Christian principles, and the diffusion of the Christian spirit in all human relations. (c) Good as this practical co-operation is, many Christian hearts yearn for a closer communion in the Lord than the present ecclesiastical differences and divisions allow. Accordingly, after many years of preparation, a conference met in Lausanne on August 3 to 24 to consider the difficult problems of Faith and Order. Again all the Christian communions except the Roman were represented ; in the arrangement of the programme care was taken that all the ecclesiastical types should be represented in the discussion of each subject. What the issue of this conference will be none dare forecast. But we can all hope and pray that God's own Spirit, the Spirit of reconciliation and unity, shall so brood over the deeps of human thought and desire that to all the Churches there will come, as an inspiration to aspiration and effort, a glowing vision of the Church of Christ, 'the bride of the Lamb, sanctified and cleansed by Him and presented unto Himself glorious, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but holy and without blemish.' Could the world resist such a Church? Would not Christ, manifest and victorious in it, complete the world's redemption and reconciliation, the unity of all persons, classes, nations, and races?

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

OUR FOREIGN SECRETARIES ¹

MR. CECIL sets himself in this striking set of portraits to visualize the leading characters in Foreign Office history, and to see what they made of the Foreign Secretariat. His studies open when the seeds of the Grand Alliance against Napoleon were sown, and close before the fruits of the Great War were gathered. For the first twenty-five years of his constitutional existence the individuality of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was overshadowed by that of the Prime Minister. None of the earlier Foreign Secretaries, save Fox, had much personal weight. Greville, perhaps the ablest of them, was mostly in power during a war which attracted the best energies of the Prime Minister into the sphere of foreign affairs. That Prime Minister, except for a short interval, was none other than William Pitt. Mr. Cecil's book might therefore be said, 'with no more than trivial inaccuracy, to take its start as the Foreign Office emerges from the shadow cast by Pitt's greatness, and to take its leave as the Foreign Office disappears again into the whirlpool of Mr. Lloyd George's versatility.'

The primacy of the Foreign Department comes out in the doctrine that its business is in some peculiar sense the concern of the Cabinet as a whole, whilst its Secretariat is regarded, as was shown by Mr. Balfour's appointment in 1916, as the only departmental position really compatible with the dignity of an ex-Prime Minister. The Premiership, indeed, hardly seems able to give its holder a better title to remembrance than the Foreign Secretariat. Castlereagh stands out on the frieze of time a larger man than Liverpool. Canning's Premiership enshrines his tragedy; his Foreign Secretaryship made his reputation. Aberdeen's merit is

¹ *British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916 : Studies in Personality and Policy.* By Algernon Cecil. (G. Bell & Sons, 1927.)

due to his diplomatic record. 'Palmerston's prestige is based, for the most part, upon his connexion with foreign affairs and his famous defence of his proceedings as Foreign Minister.' By virtue of his work at the Foreign Office, 'Lord Rosebery escapes the reproach of being great in work but not in power; whilst, for the dexterity of his foreign administration, Salisbury stands out a head and shoulders above his fellows.'

The world may truthfully be said to be the Foreign Secretary's occasion. He stands also in special relation to the Sovereign—who may become, as did Edward VII, the first and best diplomatist in the nation's service—and to the country. 'In no contemptible sense he must be able to face both ways; to look inwards into England, so that he may show his countrymen that he is a man like-minded with, if not also larger-minded than, themselves, and then outwards over Europe, and, again, towards America, envisaging all questions without partiality or hypocrisy, in the grand manner of one to whom the first and last end of diplomacy is peace, and to whom all the friends of peace are by virtue of that name alone the friends of England.'

Castlereagh took over the office in 1812, six years after Pitt had left the helm. He had become Secretary for Ireland at the age of twenty-nine, and devoted all his powers to carrying through the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Act of Union brought him into the British Parliament. As Secretary of State for War he was responsible for the decision to support the Spanish rising of 1808 and for the appointment of Wellington as commander in the Peninsula. The statesman and the general were 'the great twin brethren under whose guidance the Revolution, incarnate in Napoleon, was fought and foiled.' In January 1814 the Cabinet asked him to meet the Allies at Basel. There he saw Lord Aberdeen, who told him that his presence was absolutely providential. All the old divisions so long smothered seemed to be bursting forth. Under Castlereagh's

influence 'the Grand Alliance drew together, and passed insensibly from being a temporary expedient for war into a lasting agency for peace.' He brought Metternich and the Tsar Alexander once more into line, and saved the position in the hour of panic when Napoleon forced the allied armies back across the Marne. After Napoleon was banished to Elba, Castlereagh's presence in Vienna saved the European Congress from splitting into its component parts. He was never greater than when he fearlessly took his own line of action. 'Time and circumstance had thrust a rare opportunity of independence upon him; and his character and ability proved equal to the occasion.'

After Napoleon's final overthrow at Waterloo, Castlereagh worked in the same spirit. 'It is not our business,' he wrote, 'to collect trophies, but to bring back the world to peaceful habits.' His aim was diplomacy by periodic conference. The weakness of his position lay in the fact that it was 'rooted in his personality, and not in the circumstances of the time. His aloofness was felt at home and abroad. He inspired confidence, but not conviction. Only Wellington and Liverpool, perhaps, amongst his countrymen saw things at all as he did; and amongst the foreign statesmen with whom he mixed there was probably none that shared his standpoint.'

Ten momentous years wore out his strength and unhinged his brain. He took his own life, and there were some that execrated him even as his body was borne to its resting place in the Abbey. But when the Treaty of Locarno was ratified in London his portrait was placed above the heads of those who signed it, 'as if he were the appropriate patron saint of their endeavours. Thus, after a life closed in fitful fever, after the long eclipse of reputation that overtakes for a time even the greatest when they have been a little while dead, and after foul-mouthed poets and the coarser kind of critics have done their worst, he fares well.'

Canning had been Foreign Secretary in 1807-9, and

returned to the office on Castlereagh's death in 1822. The two men had opposed one another in many important matters, and had even fought a duel as the outcome of their departmental differences. Canning did not believe in a concert of Europe. He abandoned the more catholic conceptions of his predecessor, and would have every nation look to itself. The position of England he held to be one of neutrality, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles. His eloquence rallied to his standard that 'force of public opinion which perhaps only Chatham before him had known how to evoke.' The Monroe doctrine was really his. When worsted in the diplomatic struggle over Spain he turned to America. 'I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.' He was opposed to parliamentary reform, but instructed public opinion and valued its support. He appealed to the native instincts of his countrymen 'in the grandest language, dwelt magnificently upon their proudest traditions, took them into his confidence, and called them to his aid.' 'He had the practical efficiency, the strong assurance, the material outlook that were to make the middle period of Victoria what it became in politics and trade. He lacked the great manner, the high international courtesy, the sense of European solidarity, and the spirit of peace and counsel that so nobly distinguished Castlereagh. Combative, competitive, and insular, he broadened a path for British policy, where Palmerston was presently to strut, crowing with crest erect.' Those who regard this as the soundest tradition of our foreign policy will exalt Canning above all his fellows; others, 'who set greater store than he did by conciliation, co-operation, and an impartial mind in international affairs, will, whilst not forgetting his great gesture westwards, content themselves in general with milder praise.'

Aberdeen stepped into Canning's place. Posterity has dealt hardly with him, but he held that 'the first principle of international business is to dispel distrust, and that the

evangelical counsels offer in the long run a better text-book of foreign policy than the works of Machiavelli.' Much of his boyhood was spent in the house of Dundas or of Pitt. When he went abroad his intimacy with the Great Commoner gave him the entry to Napoleon's presence. He was 'half vanquished by the romance of his rise, the brilliance of his talk, the beauty of his face, the magic of his eye and smile.' But when, a few years later, he followed the French army as the Allies forced it back across the Rhine, the havoc, the horror, and the desolation of war made an impression on his mind which was never effaced. His whole administration of foreign affairs inspired confidence, and his sympathy with the middle class led him to make straight ways for commerce and peace. The world was definitely the better for his labours. He had reached a lasting settlement with America as to the vexed boundary questions, had created a good understanding with France, and, though the Crimean War obscured his merits as diplomatist and Foreign Minister, 'his high purpose, his conciliatory temper, his quiet achievement, and the delicate balance of his mind, if he were to be more fairly judged, would place him high upon the roll of British Foreign Secretaries.'

Palmerston was three times Foreign Secretary. He had none of the graces usually associated with that office. 'His manners were detested alike by the subordinates, whom he drove with untiring energy, and the foreign representatives, whom he badgered with bluff resolution and sometimes with bluff that had behind it no resolution.' The old diplomats held that 'one should glide to one's point, and not rush—stamping one's foot—up to it.' Palmerston put his trust 'in the Press, which he was at pains to manipulate; in Parliament, which he knew better than any man then living how to manage; in the Country, whose temper he knew how to catch and the weight of whose name and resources he brought to bear upon every negotiation with a patriotic effrontery that has never been excelled.'

Mr. Cecil describes the many situations in which he figured. He treated Queen Victoria with 'insouciance insulting in the case of a sovereign, unchivalrous in that of a woman. Her counsels went ignored or undervalued; her letters were opened at the Foreign Office before they were sent on to her; drafts that she had altered were dispatched unchanged, and dispatches were sent off that she had never seen; important information was withheld from her; and decisive action was sometimes taken without her consent or that of the Cabinet.'

Matters came to a head when the Piræus was blockaded, and a Greek warship seized, to compel the Government to compound matters with Don Pacifico, a Jew of Gibraltar, whose house had been plundered by a Greek mob celebrating Easter. Some injury done to George Finlay, the historian, by the seizure of his land was also to be settled at once. This action led to the defeat of the Ministry in the House of Lords, and it was essential to retrieve the position in the Commons. Peel, Gladstone, Bright, Cobden, and Disraeli spoke on the question, but Palmerston was a match for them all. He fearlessly challenged the verdict which the House, as 'representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, was to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say, "*Civis Romanus sum*," so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.' The speech made Palmerston triumphant over his enemies within and without the House. The Queen, who bitterly resented his methods, put in writing

what she expected from the Foreign Minister. 'Palmerston undertook, without a murmur, to attend to the Queen's wishes, and resumed without delay the course of his indiscretions.'

He left the Foreign Office in 1851, and was twice Prime Minister. The general election of 1865 left him strong in power; but, before Parliament met, the old statesman had gone, leaving an unfinished letter and a half-open dispatch-box on his desk, as a sign that he had ceased at once to work and live.

Mr. Cecil groups in one chapter the three Whig earls—Clarendon, Granville, Rosebery. Clarendon's first tenure of the Foreign Office covered the whole period of the Crimean War. His colleagues distracted him by their rival counsels, and Stratford de Redcliffe's strong hatred of Russia was a powerful influence in bringing about war. Clarendon had a peculiar charm. 'No figure so much suggesting a portrait by Vandyke moves across our narrow stage; there is no other Foreign Secretary at once so graceful, so brilliant, so generous, and so gay.'

Granville did his utmost to prevent the Franco-German War, but in vain. When France was defeated, the fountains of the diplomatic deep were broken up. The Foreign Secretary had to drain all the dregs of Palmerston's and Russell's diplomacy, and when he had dealt with the Eastern Hemisphere he had to face the *Alabama* troubles, which would have cost the country more than they did, had he not refused to admit certain indirect claims which the American Government lacked the courage to withdraw. It was arranged that the arbitrators should rule out these pretensions, and thus America was enabled to save its face. Granville's reputation suffered severely in Gordon's death. 'He blundered by allowing Hicks to march, by selecting Gordon, and, finally, by neither holding Gordon to his first instructions, on pain of recall, nor yet, in the alternative, supporting him with swift, effective aid in the bolder project that had seized his fancy.'

At the Foreign Office, Lord Rosebery earned a name as a hard worker, a wise counsellor, an engaging, if somewhat imperious, chief. He only held office for six months in 1886 and for a year and a half between 1892 and 1894. His foreign policy perhaps had a bent towards Germany rather than towards France, whose ultimatum about a cession of territory at Mekong gave him a good deal of trouble. He was well aware that friction with Germany meant friction with the master of the strongest army in Europe, and in 1909, as armaments increased and the two countries drifted into antagonism, he said 'this calm before the storm is terrifying.' He was in his right place at the Foreign Office. 'It framed his figure; and he embellished its roll of celebrities.' No one 'left among the archives of latter-day diplomacy a more delicate perfume.'

Lord Salisbury was four times Foreign Secretary, and served his country well by his sympathetic outlook, his broad principle of maintaining things as they were, his trust in time and patience to clear the diplomatic air of passion, and his ability to see two sides of a question. Mr. Cecil says it would be 'no idle flight of fancy to see in his work some analogy to that which was accomplished by Elizabeth, if not always with the sympathetic assent, at least with the practical concurrence, of his famous ancestor. As she nursed a distracted kingdom into new and more abundant life by means of a temporizing diplomacy based upon English character and island strength, so did he foster and fortify the nascent energy of the great Imperial movement of his day by doing nothing before the time, keeping England free from entanglements, and maintaining the old Europe of his youth with all its obvious defects and all its less apparent but not less real merits.'

Lord Lansdowne, whose death last June brought many tributes to that singularly high ideal of patriotism and of the duties of rank which had led him to serve as Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India, was Foreign

Secretary from 1900 to 1905. He showed his diplomatic skill and won the support of both political parties. He reversed the policy of splendid isolation by the Treaty of Alliance with Japan which was signed on January 30, 1902, and by promoting the Entente Cordiale with France. After the fall of the Conservatives in 1905 he quoted Mr. Asquith's testimony that he did not know where the enemies of England were to be found, adding, 'I could not have found words which I would sooner have engraved on my political tombstone.' He was a man and a statesman of whom the country is justly proud.

Sir Edward Grey found himself at the Foreign Office in a time of unexampled importance. The eyes of all the world were on him in August 1914, and his speech in Parliament struck a note to which the soul of the nation responded. The real reason, he said, for going into the war was that, if we did not stand by France and stand up for Belgium against this aggression, we should be 'isolated, discredited, and hated; and there would be before us nothing but a miserable and ignoble future.' Mr. Cecil says that his vision soared, like Castlereagh's, towards lasting peace, and, like Castlereagh, he desired by means of common counsel to bring Europe to a better mind, but was torn from his course by adverse winds and weather. He stands out as a man 'of a most composite lineage, yet withal of a great simplicity of nature and of a disposition less in keeping with latter-day diplomacy than Arthurian legend! And, to conclude, a Foreign Secretary whose personal character, much more than the course of his diplomacy, opened the way to that participation of Great Britain in the affairs of the world on the principle of "Areopagus," rather than of alliance, which British policy had, ever since Castlereagh's day, been feeling after and even now, may be, is finding!'

JOHN TELFORD.

APOSTOLIC LORD'S SUPPERS

NO institution has come to us from the Early Church freighted with such tender associations as that of the Eucharist, yet around no institution have such fierce conflicts taken place, and certainly no institution has been so radically overturned, perverted, almost destroyed, as this. It is, therefore, with special interest that we turn to our New Testament sources.

The first thing that strikes us there is the small space it occupies as contrasted with the big space in Church history. In three-quarters of Christendom—Greek, Roman, various Eastern, High Episcopal, and High Lutheran Churches—it is the chief means of grace, the surest and divinest means to bring God and Christ and all spiritual blessings to the soul. Therefore these Churches make it the centre of worship ; to it all parts of the service lead up, or from it they lead down. In some of these Churches it automatically conveys grace if no mortal sin intervenes. In all it is celebrated with pomp and ceremony, heathen in its elaborateness, costliness, splendour, shining silks, gold and silver in dress, ornament, and vessels. Over against all this, notice this fact in the New Testament : the Supper, outside of brief mention of its institution in three Gospels, is clearly mentioned or described in only one place, and once indirectly in the context to this one place.

The second striking fact is that we are never exhorted to take this sacrament, except so far as the words reported by Paul, ' This do in My remembrance,' is an exhortation. We are exhorted to pray—in fact, always to pray—not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, to watch, to be this and that, exercise this virtue and that, but we are never urged to take this sacrament. We are told to be baptized, to expect to receive the Spirit ; in fact, all kinds of charges

and advices are laid upon us, but never are we urged in the matter of the Lord's Supper. It is, indeed, true that in two accounts of the Lord's Supper—those of Paul and Luke—we are told to do this in Christ's remembrance, but whether that has incidental reference to what He and they were doing then, or was meant as a command to do something similar in after years, we are not sure. The remark was so casual and unimportant that Mark and Matthew fail to mention it at all. And Matthew was there, and Mark drew from Peter.

As the correlative of this second fact, we might mention that there is absolute silence as to any penalty for not taking the Supper. We are not told that we shall lose anything of value from the Christian life, that we shall incur any risk or sin, that we shall be better Christians for using or worse for not using—not a line of any damage to our souls by lack of diligence as to this sacrament. This is the more interesting when we remember that in some Churches fearful loss attends non-reception at least once a year. It is practically a saving ordinance for millions.

The third fact is that while, in Christianity, a thousand treatises have been written upon the doctrine of the Supper, the New Testament is almost entirely silent about that doctrine. By careful reading you can make out quite fully from the New Testament the doctrine of God the Father, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of sin, of regeneration or conversion, faith, salvation, justification, sanctification, hell, heaven, but you can get but little on the doctrine of the Supper.

The fourth striking fact is that nothing is told as to how to celebrate it, except the one caution not to make ourselves drunkards and gluttons. How often to take, what to take, what not to take, what kind of bread and wine, who is to preside—directions are lacking.

The fifth fact is that the Eucharist has no name in the New Testament. The nearest that comes to it is 'the breaking of bread,' but whether that refers to any special

religious meal, or is equivalent to our supper or dinner, we do not know. It certainly does not appear to be used as equivalent to our Sacrament. Nor is the word the 'Eucharist' ever used of our Lord's Supper. It is used in the New Testament in its literal meaning—praise, giving of praise or thanks, the thanks or thanksgiving. In 1 Cor. xi., Paul contrasts two kinds of suppers—self-suppers, and Lord's suppers or Christian suppers. What he says is: 'Coming together then upon this, it is not (possible) to eat a Lord's supper, for each one grabs up beforehand his self-supper to eat it' (verses 20, 21). Here the two kinds of suppers are contrasted—your own, and a Lord's or a Christian supper. Nor is the name 'The Communion' ever given to our Lord's Supper in the New Testament, nor is to partake of the latter ever called 'to communicate.' These words in this sense are all of far later use.

The subordinate place of the Supper written across the whole New Testament is in keeping with what we find in matters of rites, ceremonies, institutions—very little on these, but much on Christ, His life, death, resurrection; much on His significance as to who He was and what He did; much on salvation, on morals, on spiritual living, on the eternal realities.

Let us, then, take up the institution of the Supper according to the first and most naked account, that of Mark: 'As they were eating (the Passover), taking a loaf, and having blessed, He brake and gave to them and said, Take, this is My body. And taking a cup, and having given thanks, He gave to them, and all drank from it. And He said to them, This is My blood of the covenant, (the blood) poured out on behalf of many. Indeed, I say to you that I shall not at all drink from the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God. And, having hymned (a psalm), they went out to the Mount of the Olives' (Mark xiv. 22-6).

The account is brief. The institution takes up about six

lines in the Greek text. But a religious message is not absent in that short, pregnant story. What is it?

(1) 'My body and blood are of eternal significance.' What it is Christ does not say further. Bread and wine are that body and blood—the Westerner would say symbolize it or set it forth; the Easterner, who spoke in figures ('I am the door'), would say, 'The bread is the body, wine the blood,' and both would mean exactly the same thing. It is as though Christ said: 'Remember My body and blood have to do with your salvation and the salvation of the world. Whenever you see bread and wine you will be reminded of that fact.'

(2) 'My blood is covenant blood, poured out for many.' What is a covenant (*διαθήκη*)? It is simply an arrangement, agreement, understanding between two parties. The blood of the covenant is the blood by which the agreement is established, sealed, and eternally fixed. The agreement is that 'by faith in Me, by following and loving Me, ye shall have eternal life, and you have the eternal seal of it in My blood which is to be poured out, which I am to shed for many, for the life of the world.' And whenever you see or drink wine you have the tangible evidence of this fact. So long, therefore, as a Lord's Supper exists in the Church there is a setting forth of the fact that Christ's death is an offering, a pouring forth, on behalf of many. He elsewhere uses the word ransom. Perhaps the word atonement, or propitiation, expresses what was in our Lord's thought, what, immersed in Isa. liii. he must have felt.

The account in Matt. xxvi. 26-30 is almost word for word that of Mark, with two slight additions which do not change the sense. Instead of saying, 'They all drank of it,' Matthew puts that as a part of Christ's words, 'Drink all of you of the cup,' and he adds the words 'unto remission of sins' to the words 'poured forth for many.' No doubt Christ really said 'unto remission of sins,' but the words were not absolutely necessary, for what other purpose could

Christ pour out His blood to seal the new covenant except 'to save His people from their sins'?

In point of time, so far as a written record in our New Testament is concerned, Paul's account in 1 Cor. xi. 23-5 is first. He says: 'I received from the Lord what I gave over to you (when I was with you), that the Lord Jesus on the night in which He was being betrayed took a loaf, and, having given thanks, broke and said, This is My body, the one in behalf of you. This do unto My remembrance. Similarly the cup after the supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in My blood; this do as often as ye drink, unto My remembrance.'

Did Paul mean that he received this account from the Lord directly by vision or communication or revelation, or indirectly through others? Paul is generally careful in giving sources of information ('I heard from the house of Chloe'), and it is probable that the words refer to an assurance that was a revelation from Christ, or equivalent to it. But the remarkable similarity to the other accounts shows that the story of the Last Supper was handed down by word or by written account in almost a stereotyped form. But the notable addition, 'Do this unto My remembrance' or 'unto My memorial,' 'As oft as you drink it do it in My remembrance,' raises fruitful questions. Did Christ really say that? If so, what did He mean? If He said it, why did not Matthew and Mark report it? Did He mean that whenever those disciples to whom He was speaking would partake of their brotherhood meals, or of any meals, they should take the bread and wine in remembrance of Him? Did He mean that the Church should set in a special observance—what we call a sacrament—to keep in memory His own death? Or that whenever believers anywhere eat together (or eat alone) they should take the bread and wine as Christ's body, without meaning to institute a special service? Do we have light enough to answer these questions with certainty? It is certain that His words about the

'new covenant in My blood' show that He placed all importance on His death, and that, therefore, some provision to remember that death would be natural to Him. It may be Mark and Matthew took that provision for granted, or as well known, and so did not think it worth while to mention it. But Paul wanted to impress the half-heathen, gluttonous sets of the Corinth Church with the solemnity of the Church meal, and he therefore not only spoke of Jesus's words about the cup setting forth the new covenant in His blood, but also the words of Christ which showed that He Himself was the inauguration of the meal. Will you not reverence such a meal now?

One or two views of scholars in apostolic Church history. Jülicher thinks that these actions of Christ in the Last Supper were not meant as an institution of the Supper, but as a symbolic proclamation of His death. These acts were the breaking of the bread and the outpouring of the wine. Mark gave the words of Jesus exactly: 'The bread is My body, the wine My covenant blood which will be poured out for many.' Jülicher says: 'Certainly bread is a difficult symbol of the broken body, but He points with the finger to the broken bread.' The word 'broke' is one of the few expressions which is given unchanged in all four of the accounts. With the breaking of the bread He thought of the similar fate of His own body, and, without any deep similarity between His body and the bread, He could, in view of the broken bread before Him, say to the disciples, 'This is My body; the same treatment will My body soon receive.' Everybody could understand that; it was not the first time He had proclaimed His death to them, but with these words He placed it before them as though present. He described what His body should suffer, not what the disciples should do. Mark and Paul mention no word of eating on the part of the disciples. . . . (The same in regard to the blood.) That Christ's blood is to be drunk by the disciples, and His body eaten, there is no word. Only the

subject of the partaking does Christ compare with His blood and body; on the partaking He does not reflect at all (*Zur Geschichte der Abendmahlsfeier in der ältesten Kirche*, 1892).

No doubt Christ foretold His death in the way mentioned by Jülicher, but there may have been a deeper meaning in the words, 'blood of the covenant poured out for many,' and we are still left with the problem of the meaning of words reported by Paul, 'Do this in My remembrance.'

Let us now take the view of Spitta. He thinks we should consider the accounts without reference to the later history. What was the historical occasion or background here? The Last Meal took place, not on the 14th Nisan (Synoptists), but on the 13th. It was no Passover meal, and therefore no institution, for the latter is possible only in connexion with the Passover. Even Mark and Matthew say nothing which would make one feel that the Last Meal was a Passover meal, but rather a common meal such as Jesus was accustomed to take with His disciples. A further evidence of this is that the requests of Jesus to the disciples at the Last Supper to take, eat; take, drink; are no part of the Passover ritual; that it was not the Passover lamb which Jesus explained of His body, but bread; and that the wine in this supper was drunk and not sprinkled upon the door-posts. Whereas, the accounts of Luke and Paul speak of an institution of Jesus which, as Luke at least shows (xxii. 11, 15), was made at the Passover meal and in connexion with it, and particularly as its Christian counterpart.

There were in early Christianity, thinks Spitta, two different traditions as to the origin of the Lord's Supper, the one a common meal, the other a Christian Passover—the Lord's Supper. The first (common meal explanation of origin) is the oldest, and he brings for this a brilliant proof out of the primitive Lord's Supper liturgy. He says that, though Paul's account carries the sense of an instituted memorial and death celebration, yet in its liturgical form in

Paul it is simply the common meal of the society (Church). [It is misleading to use the words *liturgischen Form* as to Paul's account of the Supper. He gives no form to be repeated, but only tells the story of the Last Supper as he received it.] This common meal stood in no reference to the Passover, as it was often celebrated, whereas the Passover was only once a year. The whole Last Supper or Meal of Christ was a Lord's Meal or Supper, and not a single liturgical act to which a Love Feast hitched on. [Spitta is absolutely right here. There is not the slightest evidence in the first and second centuries that there was a ceremonial Lord's Supper, as we call it, connected either before or after with a Love Feast. There was just one Supper or Meal.] The Lord's Supper in Corinth was an actual meal, just as the Last Supper. The Lord's Supper also of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* [document—probably about 125—first edited by Bryennios in Constantinople in December 1883 and in many editions in Europe and America in 1884-5-6] carries in its prayers traits of the Jewish meal, while it has no reference whatever to the Passover or to the death of Jesus. The Lord's Supper of the Corinthians is accordingly nothing else than the original Christian Love Meal, which, under the name of Agape, or Love Feast, we know from Jude and 2 Peter, and which is the oldest aspect of the Lord's Supper—for Acts, in the 'Breaking of Bread,' speaks only of a table fellowship of the disciples. [Whether 'Breaking of Bread' in Acts means Lord's Supper or not, it was always a regular meal.]

In the opinion of Spitta, the point in the Last Supper was not the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine as pointing to Jesus's death, as Jülicher thinks, but rather the partaking of the food. The reasons which cause him to think the occasion had no reference to Christ's death are as follows: (1) Jesus could not announce His death because He was not clear that He was to die, as His Gethsemane prayer proves. [I might say on this that the Gethsemane

prayer proves rather the opposite. He felt He must drink the cup, prays for its passing if possible, is apparently refused, is strengthened by angels, and goes forward without hesitation to the inevitable end.] (2) The disciples could not understand Jesus thus, for only later did they become concerned as to His fate, and could not have suspected any reference to His death so long as He was in their midst in the freshness of life. (3) The symbolism also speaks against this reference. If the partaking of the food is the point of the transaction in the Last Supper, the eating of the body and drinking of the blood is an impossible representation, because a dreadful, and for Israelites a specially offensive, one, and as a figure is impossible of realization or fulfilment.

Spitta thinks the word covenant is the important one. This covenant is the one promised in the Prophets—the Davidic-Messianic covenant—and it is generally portrayed under the figure of a great heavenly Supper, or Meal. (See Isa. xxv., lv.; Prov. ix. 5; Ps. xxiii., cxxxii. 15.) It is a picture of the blessings of the Messianic time. In the Gospel of John we have the picture, Bread of Life, Living Water, &c. These pictures were so drastic that even the eating of the Messiah was spoken of. This thought of a Messianic Supper was in Jesus's mind when He spoke the words, 'Verily, I say unto you, I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine till I drink it new in the Kingdom of God' (apparently referring, in Spitta's mind, to the supper with the disciples on earth after the Second Coming). Just as the Messianic feast in Isa. lv. 1 invited all thirsty and hungry to eat and drink, so Christ says, 'Take, eat; take, drink.'

Christ, however, transposes or displaces the Messianic meal in that He offers Himself as (spiritual) food. 'He sees,' says Spitta, 'the disciples eat and drink at His table, in His Kingdom, and asks them to take the gifts which He only can give. Although He knows that death is near—the betrayer Judas warns Him of that—He overcomes in faith all the horrors of death because He believes in His future

triumph, in His return and the fulfilment of His work. On this height of triumph-feeling and of faith the Supper points ; the words of institution are the seal of the life and calling of Jesus. ' Now, although the act of Christ in the Supper was not the founding of the later Lord's Supper, yet it is really its origin, because the disciples were bound to repeat it. They would do this without any command, for, as the disciples felt themselves the community of the Messiah, they came of themselves to celebrate repeatedly the Messianic Meal after the pattern of their Lord. The Breaking of Bread in Acts ii. 46 took place *ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει*—in abounding joy ; that is, in the confidence of the triumph of the Messianic faith. Naturally, in each one of such meals the participants thought of the Lord's Last Meal and the impressive words He spoke then. Of course, they did not confine themselves to bread and wine, but ate other things, notably took water, and especially as the Messiah was called the Fresh Water Fountain.

But how was it that the Lord's Supper as a simple Messianic, joyful meal came later to have a reference to Christ's death and to the Passover? Spitta thinks that after the death of Jesus the disciples really met in Jerusalem to take the post-Passover, or supplementary Passover, which Jews who had no opportunity to take the regular Passover observed. After they had seen the risen Lord in Galilee, and had come to faith, they returned to Jerusalem to celebrate this post-Passover. They began gradually to get new spiritual light on Christ's death, so that the Passover came to have a new meaning, and to be associated with Christ's death and His Supper in connexion with it. In some of these Suppers the Lord Himself took part. So the Last Supper came, in retrospect, to be a real Passover, and, thus early, turned into a celebration of the sacrificial death of Christ. So a new conception of the Lord's Supper arose (even in apostolic times), namely, as the Christian Passover Supper. The later hearers, who no longer understood the

words, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' saw in them a reference to a remembrance celebration of the death of Christ in the same way as the Passover was also a remembrance celebration.

This change reacted upon the accounts, says Spitta, so that they represent the Lord's Supper as celebrated on the 14th Nisan, the day of the Passover meal. This tradition continued to work; according to Luke, the Lord's Supper is a sorrowful remembrance-meal suggested by the Passover meal, and with Paul it is a regular death-meal. Thus the character of the meal, as the original tradition understood it, has vanished. No longer is it a partaking of the various elements of the Supper, which is the chief point, but the point is what the bread and wine show forth, viz. Christ's death. An anti-Jewish trait comes in as Paul speaks of a 'new' covenant, and Matthew brings the addition 'for forgiveness of sins,'—that is, the thought of sacrifice. Paul, of course, understood that Lord's Suppers were real meals, but he connected the reception of spiritual blessings in a sacramental way to the partaking of the Lord's Supper eatables. That is, he took up the ideas of Jesus of the Supper as a Messianic banquet or meal, but he materialized it; that is, he added to it the idea of the elements as body and blood actually conveying blessings to the participants. 'So there steps in a certain confusion and motley character (*Buntheit*) of the views of the apostle, in contrast to the crystal simplicity and greatness of Jesus.' Over against that, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and the evangelist John know only the original purely figurative understanding of the Lord's Supper (John vi. 51-9 does not belong to the evangelist). So there went in apostolic times, and early in them too, different traditions of the Supper. The original one sees in that feast the repetition of the Messianic meal of Jesus, where the meal or supper is a figure of the receiving of spiritual blessings. The other knows the Lord's Supper a memorial and death celebration, instituted in connexion

with the Passover meal, and the chief representative of this second view is the Apostle Paul. Thus Spitta (*Die urchristlichen Tradition über Ursprung und Sinn des Abendmahl*, 1893).

This epoch-making book of Spitta made a sensation in Germany, and is written with a freshness and cordial relation to the sources which is delightful. I could agree with the following points: (1) The Last Supper was not strictly a Passover meal. If it had been, the paschal lamb would have been prominent, but here that lamb disappears, and bread and wine are prominent. (2) Spitta is right, too, in saying that Paul's account implies a common or fellowship meal, which was had every Sunday at least, not once a year, as the Passover. (3) He is right that the so-called Love Feast and Lord's Supper in apostolic times were one and the same. (4) That the Supper in Corinth and in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* was a regular meal or banquet, as was also the Breaking of Bread in Acts. They were not Passover rites, but table-fellowship meals. (5) The Messianic meals were to be banquets or feasts, not our sombre ceremonial Lord's Suppers, and the latter were not intended by Christ in the sense in which they have been celebrated probably from the end of the second century. (6) The Messianic Supper may have been in Jesus's mind when he said, 'I shall no more drink,' &c. (7) I agree also that the Supper celebrates a Triumph and Return, not a defeat. (8) The disciples would naturally repeat it, whether they had an exhortation to do so or not, and the Supper had other elements besides bread and wine.

On the other hand, I think Spitta is mistaken in the following. Against him I would say: (1) Mark *does* bring Supper in connexion with Passover (xiv. 12, 14), without saying in so many words that it was part of the Passover meal. Even if the Last Supper were celebrated on the day or night before the Passover, there were bound to be paschal thoughts, echoes, &c. (2) The fellowship and meal feature of the Last Supper does not exclude the reference to the

death of Christ, the symbol of the broken bread and poured-out wine. (3) The fact that only later the full import of His death, and the fact that He was going to die, came upon them, does not exclude a reference at the Last Supper to His coming death. (4) While I agree with Spitta that the idea of any kind of literal eating of Christ's body was an impossible and dreadful one to Jews, and is so to-day to them and to us, yet I cannot agree that as a figure it is impossible of fulfilment. It simply means spiritual appropriation of His personality. (5) I do not think that Paul sacramentalized the elements in the sense of teaching that they in themselves conveyed blessings to the soul. Paul's tremendous emphasis on faith, hope, and love, and especially on faith, prevented him from materializing the Supper in the later Catholic sense. (6) As to Spitta's important point that there were, almost from the first, two views of what we call the Lord's Supper, the original one being a Messianic or Christian banquet, the second a remembrance supper of Christ's death—why could not both have existed from the first? So far as written accounts go, Paul's is the earliest. Here two features appear—a regular meal or festival, and also a remembrance supper of the Christ, and especially of His death. A Thanksgiving or Fourth of July banquet or festive dinner need not be less joyful and fraternal because it recalls the sacrifices and deaths of brave men who for their country's independence laid down their lives. A meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic for an annual dinner unites remembrance of the dead with pleasant and friendly intercourse. Lord's Suppers in apostolic times were both Messianic meals in honour of the new kingdom of joy and love founded by Christ, and therefore partaken of *ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει* (in hilarity or abounding good cheer), and remembrance suppers for the death and resurrection of that Founder. The former feature was, in the second and third centuries, smothered by the Catholic evolution. Can we revive it?

Spitta had the genius to see that Jesus went through the

Last Supper, not in sadness of farewell, but in a joyful consciousness of victory. Johannes Hoffmann makes the point (*Das Abendmahl in Urchristentum*, 1903, p. 79) that the present text has wiped out the original traces of that joy. I am not so sure of that. Can we recover the joy and still remember the death? Though he writes from a 'free' point of view, Hoffmann sees straight when he says (pp. 80, 81) that Mark and Matthew, as well as Paul and Luke, wanted to tell of the institution of the Supper, that Mark—against Spitta—also refers Christ's act and words in the Last Supper to His death, that the broken body and the poured-out blood in Mark mean exactly that, that the expression 'blood poured out on behalf of' is an ordinary formula for the propitiatory death of Christ (this Spitta allows in Matthew), that the expression 'covenant' does not merely have a future Messianic meaning, and that the 'blood of the covenant' designates His death as propitiatory (*Sühnetod*), for only the thought of an offering or sacrifice is to be understood by the words.

In 1926 the eminent Church historian and New Testament scholar, Hans Lietzmann (all authors mentioned in this paper belong to the Liberal school), came out with a suggestive treatment (*Messe und Herrenmahl*). He says that there were in the New Testament times two types of Lord's Suppers. The first was the Jerusalem type. This had two stages. In the first stage the Jerusalem Christians met for a common meal in their joy in Christ's living in eternity for them, in commemoration of former meals with Him, and in glad expectation of His return. The leader prayed, 'Maranatha. Come, Lord Jesus.' They responded, 'Hosanna! Save, I pray.' This implied that he was with them in spirit. There was no mention of wine. [This did not mean there was no wine at the meetings. Wine was taken for granted at every meal, whether it was mentioned or not, and whether it actually formed an element at meals or not.] The second or later stage, of which the earliest hint is Didache (about

125) and the Egyptian Liturgy, the cup was added ; usually wine, but, if there was reason to avoid wine, it was water or—to symbolize new birth—milk and honey. The Egyptian Church was not influenced by Paul. There was no idea of Christ's sacrifice in death in connexion with the Supper, either in the first or second stage. Until A.D. 70, the Jerusalem believers visited the temple and sacrificed there (see Acts iii. 12 and xxi. 26). In the second stage the elements became holy food of a spiritual kind, in which lived the name and power of the Lord—that is, of Christ—which passed into the holy partaker to give him incorruptibility and eternal life.

The second type of the Lord's Supper was the Pauline, about A.D. 50. We get this in 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff., which is founded on Mark and the tradition back of Mark. The Supper was a regular meal, with a solemn Breaking of Bread before, and, after the meal, partaking of wine. It was a memorial of Christ's death. The earliest tradition behind Mark said that Christ died as a victim for man, and as the seal of the new covenant announced by the prophets. The tradition was mistaken that the Last Supper was a paschal meal, for it was held a day too soon. [A critic calls attention to the suggestion of Burkitt and A. E. Brooke (see *Journal of Theological Studies*, ix. 569, xvii. 291) that Luke xxii. 15, 16 implies, not the regular paschal meal, but one on the day before.] Paul assumes as a fact the Lord's Supper as a sacrificial meal. He knew of three kinds—heathen, Jewish, and Christian—and all aim at communion with God.

Whence sprang this second type ? 'I received from the Lord' (1 Cor. xi. 23)—the common tradition which is before us in Mark. But the Lord had revealed to Paul the essential meaning of it, namely, that the story in Mark or the tradition is the pattern of the Lord's Supper, and that this Supper must be kept up in remembrance of Christ. The liturgical words, 'Do this in My remembrance' [liturgical in the sense of being Christ's words at the Last Supper, and therefore

bound to be repeated and in the end form a part of a liturgy], are a decisive revelation to Paul, and that made the new Pauline type of Lord's Supper conquer the Jerusalem type. Paul is, therefore (under God), the creator of the second type. Paul had no 'sacramental' interest [that is, he had no special belief in the Supper as itself a vehicle of grace or divine life]. His interest was only in the two new things—the Supper a memorial or remembrance of Christ, to be kept till He returns, and the Supper a memorial of His death for sin.

It seems to me that one of the chief values of the epoch-making contributions of Spitta and Lietzmann is that they support the unconquerable impression made upon us by both our New Testament sources and early Church history that the Supper goes back to an actual word or revelation or institution of the Lord.

Finally, as to difference between apostolic Lord's Suppers and ours I would say: (1) Theirs was a meal, ours a ceremony. (2) Theirs was eschatological, an interim fellowship meal looking forward to His Return ('till He come,' 1 Cor. xi. 26), ours a permanent remembrance meal from which that special expectation has largely vanished. (3) Theirs was also a memorial, but ours in many Churches has taken as the chief means of grace the place that faith, hope, love, prayer, &c., had in apostolic times. To keep a memorial to stimulate faith and love, and not turn it into magic practically to take the place of faith and love, is the problem Christ and the apostles left us.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

MACAULAY AND THE AUTHORIZED VERSION

MACAULAY was a man of immense attainments, and gifted with a memory the like of which has rarely been seen. For parallels to it, indeed, we have to seek rather among men who have no books than among those to whom books are daily companions. A score of instances, illustrating his portentous powers in this respect, are given in Trevelyan's *Life*, and many others are known through tradition. Thus, for example, Dr. Butler, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was fond of telling of a feat which he himself witnessed. In 1858 Macaulay came up to Cambridge after a long absence, and there met Denman, afterwards the famous judge, who had taken his fellowship at Trinity in 1843. At the fellowship examination Denman had done a remarkably good 'copy' of Greek verses, which had been shown to Macaulay, and which he had glanced through—just once. On being introduced to Denman, he straightway recalled the verses, and—after characteristically touching his forehead to jog his memory—repeated them from beginning to end, to the amazement of the author himself, who had forgotten, not only the verses, but even that he had ever written them. It is probable, indeed, that, with the exception of Joseph Scaliger, who learnt Homer in six months, no bookish man has had a better memory than Macaulay.¹

With such a natural capacity, Macaulay was not likely to forget the book which his father and mother, devout evangelicals of the Clapham Sect, had taught him to read in his earliest childhood. His *Life*, and, as we shall see, his writings, are full of proofs that he knew the English Bible as

¹ There is a well-authenticated tradition of a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, named Hyman, who always tore up a book as soon as he had once read it, and whose shelves were filled simply with bindings. 'Why keep a book when you can repeat it?' he used to say. He certainly always lectured 'without book.' Among the illiterate, of course, such memories are common.

he knew *Paradise Lost*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and even the eight volumes of *Clarissa*, practically from end to end. When he wished to learn a new language, he always began with the Bible, and thus picked up the main part of the vocabulary and accidence without needing to open a lexicon. It was in this way, he tells us, that he learnt Spanish, Portuguese ('enough to read Camoens with care'), and German; and once, finding himself without other occupation, he amused himself by making out a Lapponian New Testament with the aid of a Norwegian dictionary.

He does not, it is true, appear to have troubled himself with the original Greek and Hebrew. Hebrew was one of the few dominant languages of which he knew nothing; and a casual remark in his *History*, dealing with the case of Thomas Aikenhead,¹ shows that he not only did not realize what had been done in 'Higher Criticism' in his time, but despised it. Curiously enough, also, he shows no sign of having studied the Greek Testament with any care; indeed, I recall but one mention of that book in the whole of his writings; and this is the more remarkable in a man who always preferred originals to translations in the case of the most ordinary and unliterary secular works. But of the English of the Authorized Version he was, as might be expected, an intense admirer. When Lady Holland, in her usual slapdash style, was talking about the word *talented* (that bugbear of our great-grandfathers), and plainly showed she had never heard of the Parable of the Talents, 'I did not tell her,' says Macaulay, 'though I might have done so, that a person who professes to be a critic of the delicacies of the English language ought to have the Bible at his fingers' ends'—and he certainly obeyed his own precept. Whenever—which is often—he finds an opportunity of praising the style of Bunyan, he seizes his chance of eulogizing Bunyan's sole literary model, 'our noble translation of the Scriptures.'

¹ *History*, chap. xxii., 1697.

With the possible exception of Ruskin, whose early upbringing was in this respect similar to his, Macaulay is, of all the great English writers of the nineteenth century, the one whose pages show the closest acquaintance with our Bible. Strong as his memory was, he refreshed it from time to time. 'Sitting under' a bad preacher, on one occasion, he 'withdrew his attention, and read the Epistle to the Romans.'

It would obviously be impossible, in a short paper like the present, to mention even a tithe of the biblical quotations and references which stud his works. I must content myself with indicating but a few, and leave to the reader the pleasing task of noting others for himself. Suffice it to say that it will be hard to find ten or a dozen consecutive pages of Macaulay's writings, whatever the theme* on which he happens to be touching, in which such allusions are entirely absent: and how much of his proverbial liveliness and vigour of style are due to this habit can be fully appraised by those only who have carefully noted such passages. Some of this liveliness, alas, is lost to the present generation. Apart from a few Lady Hollands, Macaulay could trust the readers of his own day to catch the slightest scriptural turn of phrase; for the Bible was then read and known by almost all middle-class families. Nowadays, unfortunately for literature, the state of affairs is very different; a reference to the daughters of the horse-leech or to Nadab and Abihu is no longer instantaneously appreciated. Among the minor evils of the growing ignorance of Scripture, not the least is this—that many of our greatest writers are slowly losing their force, and that many passages of Milton, Dryden, Fuller, Lamb, and scores of others, are as flat to present-day readers as topical jests of Aristophanes whose point has been forgotten. Ere long it will be necessary to add a note with a reference to 'Proverbs xiii. 12' to explain what Macaulay meant when he said that Johnson's temper had been tried by that deferred hope which makes the heart sick; and every teacher knows that, if anything can make a passage dull, it

is an annotation. When Macaulay, discussing one of Southey's most foolish and prejudiced utterances, remarked, 'Here is wisdom,' he could be sure that his contemporaries would at once recognize that he was quoting from the Book of Revelation; how many would recognize it now? Nor is it any adequate substitute for this instantaneous recognition to *learn* the reference and laboriously look it up; the whole zest is in the spontaneity alike of author and of reader.

The multitude of these allusions, many of which occur in this natural and half-unconscious fashion, like the overflowing quotations from Shakespeare which crowd the pages of Hazlitt, is the more noteworthy as it is well known how chary Macaulay was of revealing his more intimate feelings. He was a thorough Englishman in his reserve; and his early experiences had left him with more than an ordinary Englishman's horror of what is so often unjustly called the Puritan habit of wearing one's heart upon one's sleeve. 'After the most straitest sect of our religion,' he said in after-years, 'I was bred a Pharisee'; and he became almost extravagantly shy in the expression of his religious feelings in consequence of his 'Pharisaic' upbringing. At the Leeds election he refused point-blank to answer questions as to his religious views; and a similar reticence later lost him his seat at Edinburgh. As Trevelyan says, even in the company of his closest friends he scarcely ever lifted the veil which habitually shrouded his innermost feelings. Thus it was only in early life that he composed such an epitaph as that upon Henry Martyn, or such a poem as that entitled 'A Sermon in a Churchyard'; and these did not appear till after his death. His 'Dies Irae' is a translation, and his 'Marriage of Tirzah and Ahirad' is biblical only on the surface; yet he produced nothing even of their kind after he had reached the age of twenty-seven. In his later works he shows, it is true, a keen interest in theological disputes and in ecclesiastical history; but his knowledge and love of the Bible are put almost exclusively at the service of

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literary ornament, and we trace it chiefly in subtle suggestions, in short phrases, in stylistic tints and tones ; occasionally, perhaps, in a certain moral elevation which informs his writing with a seriousness, and even with a grandeur, not often visible in it. But the same sensibility which made him shun the pathetic, lest he himself might be overcome by the sadness of the scene he described, compelled him also to a silence on religious themes which has led many superficial readers to doubt the existence in him of any religious feeling at all. He could give us the phrases of saints, but—to adopt the words which he so often quoted—while he could don their clothes he could not wear their garb.

We must look, then, in Macaulay, as his books reveal him, for a literary use of the Bible, and for no other. He betrays, it is true, his admiration of the people to whom we owe it, when, in his speech on 'The Removal of Jewish Disabilities,' he says, 'Let us not presume to say there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.' But he employs their words merely to point a sentence or round off a paragraph. Even so, however, there is much to engage our interest. Thus, for instance, when one of his young relatives, 'in the true spirit of Clapham,' asked whether a certain minister had received a testimonial, 'I am glad, my boy,' said Macaulay, 'that you would not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.' Again, when he wished to convey in epigrammatic fashion his opinion of the shallow omniscience of Lord Brougham, he called Brougham 'a sort of *semi*-Solomon, *half*-knowing everything, from the cedar to the hyssop.' When the voters of Oxford University, exasperated with Peel over Catholic Emancipation, rejected him in favour of Sir Robert Inglis, Macaulay's comment was :

Out spake all the Pharisees
Of the famous Oxford school,
Not this man, but Sir Robert—
Now Sir Robert was a fool.

Even in his childhood the same tendency was visible. When the maid took away the stones he had set up to mark the bounds of his little garden, he cried, 'Cursed be Sally; for it is written, Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark'; and when more mature he kept up the practice. Of Southey's political and theological rancour he says, in the 'Essay on the Colloquies,' 'I do well to be angry' seems to be the dominant feeling in his mind; and he detects the same Jonah-like quality in Junius. 'Doeest thou well to be angry?' was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, 'I do well.' Such, says Macaulay, was evidently the temper of the man who wrote the famous letters.

In describing the state of profligacy into which the nation fell after the ruin of the Commonwealth, Macaulay aptly recalls the demoniac of the New Testament. 'The Puritans boasted that the unclean spirit was cast out. The house was empty, swept, and garnished; and for a time the expelled tenant wandered through dry places, seeking rest and finding none. But the force of the exorcism was spent. The fiend returned to his abode, and returned not alone. He took to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and the second possession was worse than the first.' Again, when he has to contend with those who censure the men of the Great Rebellion because of the evils which it unavoidably brought in its train—'Fifth-monarchy men, shouting for King Jesus; agitators lecturing, from the tops of tubs, on the fate of Agag; Quakers riding naked through the market-place'—he replies in the words (which perhaps he did not rightly understand) of the Three Children to Nebuchadnezzar: 'Be it so. We are not careful to answer in this matter'; and within three lines he has leapt from the Book of Daniel to the New Testament: 'These

¹i.e. 'We are not particularly anxious to answer so awkward a question.' Macaulay seems to mean, 'The question is really one not worth answering.'

evils were the price of our liberty. Has the acquisition been worth a sacrifice? *It is the nature of the Devil of Tyranny to tear and rend the body which he leaves.*' When he has to describe the melancholy of Dante, he compares that intense and saturnine spirit to the Sheol of Job, 'a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and where the light is as darkness.' Driven, by his intense hatred of Barère and by his disgust with Barère's apologists, beyond the wide limits of his ordinary vocabulary, he has recourse to that of St. Paul: 'Whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are dishonest, whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are impure, whatsoever things are hateful, if there be any vice, and if there be any infamy, all these things were blended in Barère': a passage in which, perhaps, the extreme elaboration of the parody borders on pedantry, and which may help to explain why, as is well known, Macaulay himself did not like the essay, and refused to republish it.

It is natural enough that in dealing with a semi-religious topic, such as the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, Macaulay should quote a text like 'Do to others as you would that they should do unto you'; nor does the quotation show very deep biblical knowledge; but there are scores of others, turning up in all sorts of unexpected places, which *do* reveal an acquaintance, more than ordinarily wide and exact, with Holy Writ. In the essay on James Mill—not a very promising context—we light on a reference to the Pentateuch: 'We are sick, it seems, like the children of Israel, of the objects of our old and legitimate worship. We pine for a new idolatry. All that is costly and all that is ornamental in our intellectual treasures must be delivered up and cast into the furnace—and there comes out this calf!' Here the sarcasm gains immensely by the retention, word for word, of the deliberately ludicrous original. There does not seem much chance of a biblical allusion in an essay on Mirabeau; but, having occasion to speak of the comparative quiet of our own revolution of 1832, Macaulay says, 'Every

man went forth to his work and to his labour till the evening.' Still more surprising is it to find such an allusion adorning the controversy with Michael Sadler. Sadler had made the mistake, so often made by pious men, of trying to strengthen his case by linking it with that of Christianity. 'Like the Israelites,' says Macaulay, 'he has presumptuously and without warrant brought down the ark of God into the camp as a means of ensuring victory—and the consequence of this profanation is that, when the battle is lost, the ark is taken.'

Trevelyan tells us that Macaulay, in speaking to the House of Commons, often professed to be *reminding* his auditors of facts and dates when he was really *informing* them; and this may have been done in perfect good faith, for it is certain that he greatly exaggerated the knowledge of the ordinary man. At any rate, he did not refrain, in that most secular of assemblies, from the frequent use of biblical quotations. It is well known that, when horribly bored by a man who could talk of nothing but the Beast in Revelation, he put him off by proving that the House of Commons was the Beast. It may have been this apocalyptic origin that led him to treat the House to so many scriptural allusions; it is certain at least that very few of his speeches are without them. Speaking of the dangers of anarchy, 'We have all read,' says he, 'in our Book of Judges the fable of Jotham'; but it is noteworthy that he is careful to repeat it. On so unpromising a motive as this, 'That the Tower Hamlets form part of Schedule C,' after 'reminding' the committee of the Caesars, of Oropesa, of Squillaci, of Burke, of Aristotle—imagine such allusions in a speech of Mr. Baldwin or of Mr. Lloyd George!—he points his peroration with words from the New Testament; in replying to Cobbett and others on the question of Jewish disabilities, he tells his opponents that they 'halt between two opinions'; on the tests in Scottish Universities, he remarks that the poor of the Free Kirk 'contributed with the spirit of her who

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put her two mites into the treasury of Jerusalem'; speaking of the sensation caused by the Duke of Wellington's ill-timed outburst against any and every reform, he tells his hearers that 'men's hearts failed them for fear.'

It was perhaps not surprising that, in addressing a Scottish middle-class audience on the occasion of his re-election to Parliament in 1852, he should have relied on the biblical knowledge of his hearers. Recalling the 'year of revolutions,' 1848, and pointing out that England alone had come through that time unscathed, he asked, 'And why is this? Why has our country, with all the ten plagues raging round her, been a land of Goshen? Everywhere else was the thunder and the lightning running along the ground—a very grievous storm—a storm such as there was none like it since man was on the earth; yet everything tranquil here; and then again thick night, darkness that might be felt; and yet light in all our dwellings.' Nor was it surprising that he should expect Edinburgh men to catch the allusion when he said that the 'flood of barbaric invasion would no more return to cover the earth.' Scotland, then, even more than now, knew its Bible. But Macaulay gave the squires and manufacturers of the Palmerstonian House of Commons fully as rich measure of biblical quotation as he gave his North British constituents.

In the 1844 speech on the State of Ireland he told his hearers that the Irish Catholic had been 'a mere Gibeonite, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water'; ten minutes later he added that the country had 'suffered many things of many physicians,' not the least inefficient of the practitioners being Sir Robert Peel himself. Speaking in 1845 on the Corn Laws, he bids Members 'begin with the Book of Genesis, and come down to the Parliamentary Debates'; and he helps them over part of the way by referring to the account of Pharaoh's dream: 'The thin ears had blighted the full ears; the lean kine had devoured the fat kine; the days of plenty were over.' It is certain that Macaulay's

audiences must, in the course of years, have been reminded, or informed, of many scores of incidents or passages in sacred literature. No other Parliamentary orator, in all probability, since the days of Prynne and Barebone, can have woven into the thread of his discourses so many scriptural phrases. Even John Bright is not so rich in biblical allusion as Macaulay.

In the 'Essay on History,' Macaulay passes a just censure on the Roman neglect of Hebrew literature—a censure which the present age, which shows the same neglect with less excuse, might well take to heart. 'The sacred books of the Hebrews, books which, considered merely as human compositions, are invaluable to the critic, the antiquarian, and the philosopher, seem to have been utterly unnoticed by them. The peculiarities of Judaism, and the rapid growth of Christianity, attracted their notice. They made war against the Jews. They made laws against the Christians. But they never opened the books of Moses. Juvenal quotes the Pentateuch with censure (*Sat. XIV.*, 102). The author of the treatise on the Sublime quotes it with praise (*Longinus*, IX. 9); but both of them quote it erroneously. When we consider what sublime poetry, what curious history, what striking and peculiar views of the divine nature and of the social duties of men, are to be found in the Jewish Scriptures, when we consider that two sects on which the attention of the Government was constantly fixed appealed to those Scriptures as the rule of their faith and practice, this indifference is astonishing. The fact seems to be that the Greeks admired only themselves, and that the Romans admired only themselves and the Greeks.' And he proceeds to dwell on the narrowness and sameness of thought that were the result of this indifference. From this narrowness, at any rate, Macaulay himself was free.

But it was, as we have hinted, more in slight touches and subtle allusions that his knowledge of Scripture is best shown; and it is in watching for such half-quotations,

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'glimmering,' in Thackeray's phrase, 'below the surface of the narrative,' that the reader will find his keenest interest. 'The *Marah* of Byron's misanthropy is never dry'; 'one who had swallowed the Scotch Declaration would scarcely strain at the Covenant'; the effigy of Chatham, 'graven by a cunning hand'; 'no man more readily held up the left cheek to those who had smitten the right'; 'there was another sowing of the wind and another reaping of the whirlwind'; 'portioning out all those wealthy regions from Dan to Beersheba'; 'no oath inspires the confidence which is produced by the *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, of a British envoy'; 'what Bute already possessed was vanity and vexation of spirit'; 'the iron had not yet entered into his soul';—such are a few examples, culled almost at random, which show how the phraseology of our translation of the Bible had become part and parcel of Macaulay's mind. 'If the tree which Socrates planted and Plato watered is to be judged of by its flowers and leaves, it is the noblest of trees'; here, in the essay on Bacon, are two sayings, one of Christ and one of Paul, blended into one whole. On statesmen like Theramenes and Talleyrand, we are told in the essay on Temple, rests the curse of Reuben: 'Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel.' In two passages, dealing with the sham piety which Madame de Maintenon introduced into the Court of Louis XIV, Macaulay employs the phrase, 'A fashion it was, and like a fashion it passed away.' Who recognizes that this is a quotation from St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians? The Presbyterians of Scotland (*History*, chap xvi., 1690) might feel that 'the second temple was not equal to the first'—here is a reference to the second chapter of Haggai; but 'they felt for William a grateful affection such as the restored Jews had felt for the heathen Cyrus'—here is a

¹ This is the Prayer Book version, Ps. cv. 18. The right translation is almost certainly that of the A.V. margin.

reference to Ezra and the Deutero-Isaiah. 'The principles of liberty were the Anathema Maranatha' of every fawning dean'—here the *Milton* quotes *Corinthians*; 'the race accursed was again driven forth to wander (like Cain) on the face of the earth, and to be a byword and a shaking of the head to the nations'—here the *Milton* quotes (this time from the Authorized Version) the forty-fourth Psalm. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh; and this abundance of scriptural knowledge was bound to colour Macaulay's vocabulary and phraseology.

But we have not yet said all. The debt of Macaulay to the Bible is by no means exclusively shown in his words; it appears also in his peculiar mannerism. As a stylist he owes, of course, much to his Greek and Latin studies, and to his wide knowledge of our own literature. But that short, sharp, balanced sentence of his was not, assuredly, derived from his reading of Cicero or Demosthenes, nor from the earlier masters of English prose. It differs markedly even from the antithesis of Seneca and from the epigram of Tacitus; nor is it really like the brevity and point of Bacon. Something similar, certainly, is to be seen in Johnson; and many of Macaulay's *other* characteristics are to be observed in Burke, who, like his disciple, was both a writer and an orator. But the real source of this marked and unmistakable feature—of that which to many people is *par excellence* Macaulayese—is to be sought elsewhere. It was learnt from the short, sharp 'parallelism' of Hebrew poetry; from that antithetic collocation of clauses, sometimes by way of repetition, sometimes by way of correction or even contradiction, sometimes by way of extension, which lends such vigour to the retorts of Job, such vividness to the descriptions of Nahum or of Isaiah; nay, which often gives force to the sayings of our Lord Himself. A critic, indeed, who should

¹ Of course, 'Maranatha,' 'The Lord is at hand,' is not really a part of the anathema.

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set out to analyse Macaulay's style, will find himself unconsciously repeating the analysis which Lowth long ago gave of the 'Sacra Poesis Hebraeorum,' with its 'synonymous' parallelism, its 'antithetic,' its 'synthetic,' and its 'climactic.' Nay, I have sometimes thought that the 'introverted parallelism' of Macaulay's epitaph on a Jacobite :

To my true king I offered, free from stain,
Courage and faith, vain faith and courage vain,

may have sprung rather from such verses as Isaiah's 'Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim,' than from some Greek *chiasmus*. Be this as it may, the origin of Macaulay's general *manner* is clear, whatever may be thought of single passages. If any one doubts this, let him read a page of the *Essays* and then a chapter of the Book of Proverbs ; remembering, as he does so, that Macaulay was brought up on such chapters, and got them by heart in the most susceptible and formative years of his life. 'Wax to receive, and marble to retain,' his mind took from those early studies an impress which it never lost, and which is visible in the latest words he ever wrote.¹

When the essay on Milton first appeared, in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1825, the editor, Jeffrey, said to Macaulay, 'The more I think of it, the more I wonder where on earth you picked up that style.' One source, and that far from the least important, of the style ought to have been obvious to so widely-read a man as Jeffrey. It was the Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments, issued in 1611.

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¹This is literally the case. In the hasty and almost illegible fragment which concludes the *History*, he tells how William, on the Sunday, stamped the parchment which secured the passing of the Abjuration Bill ; 'and the most rigid Pharisee could hardly deny that it was lawful to save the State, even on the Sabbath.'

THE MAXIMS OF MENANDER¹

THE discovery and publication during the last twenty years of considerable portions of the comedies of the Greek Menander have not materially added to our knowledge of him as a religious and ethical teacher. We certainly know more of his skill as a play-writer and his literary methods ; but, if we may judge by the evidence of the new fragments, it would seem as if the comedies had been thoroughly combed by Stobaeus, Athenaeus, and others for his ethico-religious opinions. Hence few quotable sentiments can be found in the new papyri which were not already in our possession in the volume of Kock. Born at Athens about 342 B.C., and drowned, while bathing, at the age of fifty-two, Menander was the most important of the later Attic comic writers. The student of Theophrastus, the intimate friend of the philosopher Epicurus and the statesman Demetrius Phalereus, courted by Ptolemy I of Egypt, born of a rich and distinguished family, highly respected as a teacher of practical morality, in the general exoteric history of Greek religion, he, as L. R. Farnell says, ' counts for more than any of the philosophers.' He gives voice and expression to the highest spirit of his age.

Some popular religious notions are vigorously attacked. Ridicule is poured upon superstition. He knows that the crowd finds the incredible of greater power and more credible than truth. No pleasure is found in a god who is believed to wander out of doors with an old woman, or to

¹ *Menander, The Principal Fragments* (text and translation by F. G. Allinson, in the Loeb Classical Library); *Menandrea*, edidit A. Koerte (Teubner); *Menandri Reliquiae, Nuper Repertae*, edidit S. Sudhaus (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte), *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, edidit T. Kock; *The New Greek Comedy* (Legrand); *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (Powell and Barber).

get into a house on an *ouija*-board ; a right-minded deity would stop at home and look after the family which revered it. 'If one could by the help of cymbals compel the god to do as he wished, then he is greater than his god.' Such ideas are shameless, and calculated to make a mockery of human life. Keeping in mind the difficulty of always distinguishing between the writer's own views and those he puts into the mouths of his characters, note that there is a tilt at 'House-Protector Zeus' for failure to guard a home against parasites and harlots, and a sneer at the ease in which a sheep will fully satisfy the Olympians. There is no confidence in the justice of deity, which pays no heed to a suppliant. No wrongdoer seems to get his just punishment, rather do the gods lend him a helping hand, while failing the man who is good. Benefits or misfortunes are bestowed irrespective of character by the Immortals, who have taken good care to provide endless pleasures for themselves, while allotting very different circumstances to mankind. In silence they bring all to pass ; man must bow to the inevitable, and fight not against their will. What a life of toil the gods must have ! Is it possible that they have leisure enough to parcel the good and ill, day in and day out, to each and all ? There is another side. Deity can be merciful, and turn evil into good. A watchful care is exercised over the righteous, who can be assured that a hand will be lent to their honest boldness. But such assistance is not without condition ; they are helped who help themselves. The poor are the protégés of the gods. Rascality circles round with manifold reckonings. To neglect worship is senseless, and niggardliness in sacrifice is blameworthy. The beloved of the gods die young.

It is difficult to discover exactly what Menander's conception of God was. In one passage Chance is the one controlling power of life. In another it is said : 'Fortune cannot possibly have any bodily existence. The man who cannot bear events in Nature's way calls his own character

Fortune.' 'Folly,' says another of his characters, 'is a self-chosen misfortune to mortal men. Why, when you are injuring yourself, do you lay the blame on Fortune?' Further, 'The accidental is surely, as it seems, a god, and many unnoticed circumstances bring safety.' And again, 'Our intellect is to every one of us a god.' Confutation, Truth, Frankness, Freedom, Shamelessness, and Effrontery are also deities. To name these 'gods' is right, 'for nowadays the thing that sways is deemed a god.' The sun, too, is a god, and should be worshipped first, inasmuch as through him the other gods are seen.

Some utterances reveal a conception of the divine expressive of an inward and spiritual thought of religion. For example, there is the fine dictum: 'The light of the mind is to gaze ever upon God.' Two others are here given in Allinson's translation.

As for the righteous-minded, Fortune is ally.
By every one of us at birth forthwith there stands
A spirit-guide, beneficent, to lead us through
Life's mysteries. For we are not to think of this
As evil Genius to harm our mortal life,
Nor fraught with wickedness, but hold that God is good
In everything. Yet those who turn out base themselves
In character, and gender great complexity
Of life, or ruin all things by their heedlessness,
Declare and hold divinity responsible
And claim that he is base, becoming such themselves.

Well, do not then the gods look out for us? you'll say.
To each of us they have allotted Character
As garrison-commander. Ever present, he
Brings one to ruin, whoso seems to use him ill;
Another man he saves. Our deity is this,
And he's responsible for each man's faring well
Or badly. Him propitiate by doing naught
That's boorish or outlandish, that you prosper well.

We may well take these higher sentiments as reflecting the actual opinions of Menander. He takes his stand with

Plato and Euripides. God must be conceived as utterly good. If gods do evil they are not real. Humanity is not left to itself. Deity cares enough to supply a guide. Between it and man there is a mystic fellowship, real and close. God is not responsible for evil; men themselves are to blame, and yet they impute their own base natures to Him.

With such lines in mind, some will be prepared to regard any expressions of pessimism as merely dramatic, and not the settled convictions of our sage. But rigid consistency cannot always be expected in a poet. Fluctuations of mood and alternations of feeling are to be expected. For example, think of the Hebrew Ecclesiastes, with whom the critics have been far too free with their partition theories. More to the point is the case of Menander's fellow countryman, Solon, whose verses show at one time a fine faith in an overruling Providence, and at another the extreme of melancholy: 'No mortal man is happy; all whom the sun looks down upon are miserable.' Similarly, in Menander there is a tone of sadness: 'All the affairs of mortals are shaky; nothing remains stable.' Fortune, as we have seen, is sometimes deified, and regarded as in supreme control. Her ways, however, are complex and misleading; for she has no fixed laws by which she decides circumstances. Against her whimsies how can one struggle? She sends calamity to the just; ever and anon she will spoil some majestic gift which nature has bestowed. Play after play reveals the importance attached to the workings of Chance. Tyche would seem in Menander to be merely a personification of the terrible uncertainty which attends human affairs. Men walk in the dark led by her and her second self, Misapprehension. (*Agnoia*, Ignorance.) There is no way in which sorrows may be shunned; human forethought and intellect are but smoke and nonsense. Mankind is born to wretchedness; beside every blessing there springs up evil also. To err is human; we live not as we wish, but

as we can. If one must choose a second life, let it be anything—horse, dog, cock, sheep, goat—but human. Better, once born, to die as quickly as possible; far better this than to wait for miserable and unsightly old age. Even hope, which is mentioned once as the saviour of a man in adversity, and again as the well-grounded possession of the righteous man, is elsewhere reckoned an evil illusion.

Nevertheless, we are warned that Fortune may be reviled unjustly. She must not be made responsible for all human ills. She can be the ally to the righteous-minded, and bring good out of seeming ill. Too often men blame her for ills caused by their own conduct. Menander clearly sets over against Tyche the recognition of free will and the power of individual character. Man cannot escape all responsibility for his actions and their consequences. There is the further fragment on 'The Mutes in Life's Chorus,' which finely illustrates the poet's power of reflective thought on human life, as well as his habit of simple and effective expression.

Just as in choruses not every one doth sing,
But certain two or three mere numbered dummies stand
Last in the rows, so here 'tis somehow similar :
These fill a space, while these who have life's fullness—live.

Superficially interpreted, this might be taken to mean that life is good for the many and ill for the few, and, if that is the thought, then Menander is no pessimist. And there is another fragment which suggests that the good things of life are in a majority. Strange to say, the *carpe diem* philosophy is almost non-existent. I have noticed but one clear reference, and that may be dramatic.

The remains reveal some other conceptions which for their high ethical feeling and mature wisdom are admirable, although they also abound in remarks of a sententious character which are commonplace. There are warnings against arguing with an angry man, hasty temper, the ignoring of slander concerning oneself, and the light assent

to it with respect to others, condemning on hearsay-evidence, fair-speaking while thinking ill, pleasure that is partner to insolence, exulting over another's misfortunes, gluttony, and idleness. Among the many trite sayings concerning false friends and true, one is worth quoting: 'A friend who for the opportune moment flatters him that prospers is by nature friend, not of his friend, but of the opportunity.' In 1 Cor. xv. 33 the apostle quotes another: 'Communion with the bad corrupts good character.' But birds of a feather flock together. It is advised that secure livelihood exists in knowledge of a handicraft. The unfortunate should conceal their misfortunes from the world, and bear them patiently, especially if character be not responsible, remembering that good may come out of ill. Ask the gods not for a life free from grief, but for courage to endure; and, when prosperity does come, remember your former lot.

Menander has noticed that the man who has been saved is often ungrateful; shameless schemes are helped by being brought to swift issue and with a well-selected occasion; all things are slaves to pleasure; the envious but vex themselves; the flatterer and the toady are ruinous to those they flatter, and but prove their own shameful lot; pride has destroyed multitudes. With respect to the law, all are slaves to it; but right is better than law. Misfortune may make a criminal of one not such by nature. No occasion makes a kinsman into a foreigner. There need be no despair about anything if one will attend and toil. Sweet amongst brethren is the love of unity; and the selecting of those like to oneself somehow is most apt to bring unity out of life's blending. To assist beggars is but helping to prolong life that ought to cease.

There are many hackneyed allusions to the evils of poverty. The poor man is despised and disbelieved though he utters the truth and says what is just. On the other hand, wealth rules the world and covers a multitude of woes and sins,

as well as the handicaps of ignoble birth; but it is unsure and sorrow-bringing. No one gets wealth quickly if he is honest. Irrational money-getting turns a wise man senseless, brings pride, and spoils character. Simple wealth is not a true standard of nobility. Blessed is he who has *nous* with his money, for then he helps the needy, and makes friends for himself against a day of calamity. Better than money is a wealthy soul. A moderate income justly obtained is the ideal. Death levels all men, and immortality is not to be bought by money. After all, in their inward parts the rich are on a par with all others. In words that strangely remind us of a Babylonian text recently published by Ebeling, and which, as J. A. Symonds thinks, show original insight, and even now a ring of freshness as well as truth which marks their absolute sincerity, we are asked to remember that all that now remains of those who once plumed themselves on noble birth, wealth, fame, and beauty, are bones and unsubstantial dust. 'Look on these and know thyself the man thou art.'

Love is easily the greatest of the gods. Romantic love, with its tempestuous feelings, unwillingness to listen to counsel, and unaccountable fancies, is portrayed. There is one genuine love-philtre—considerate dealing. Our poet is indulgent towards sins of the flesh. Incontinence is generally pardoned; where it is regarded as a sin it is, as Lumb points out, an offence against one free-born. Further, in 'The Arbitrants' both sexes are made equal before the moral law. With respect to the courtesans, while some shafts are hurled at them for their avarice and lack of honour, there is real tragedy in the words of a woman: 'Tis hard for high-born wife to battle with a courtesan.' Menander neither insults nor ridicules them. Further, according to Plutarch, our poet barred paederastia from his dramas; and only in very few cases does he offend the modern mind by grossness or indecency.

Expressions of misogamy are frequent. Better be without

a wife. A poor man who marries a rich one gives himself away, though there are compensations if he is prepared to put up with some evils. Man and wife may make a cosy combination if her face is winning and her disposition good, if she stops at home, keeps quiet, and lets the man take the lead in everything. It might seem that Menander was a misogynist. Women are the most wicked beasts in the world, unfaithful, bitter-spirited, treacherous, ungrateful, &c. To teach a woman letters is to feed more poison to a frightful asp. On the other hand, it is said that a discreet woman is a magazine of virtue, and that no pious man would break his oath pledged to a woman. The misogyny is dramatic; for no one who really hated women would have created the noble Pamphila, patient in love under insult; the faithful and loyal Chrysis; Myrrhina, the injured mother, so willing to forgive; the generous-minded and courageous slave-girl Habrotonon; and, above all, the remarkably lovable character of Glycera, beautiful pattern of strong, calm, and loving womanhood.

Among his more striking expressions of the commonplace or higher sentiments are such as these: 'To belittle oneself is really home-made self-ridicule. Laws are fine, but he who keeps his eye too close on the code turns out to be a backbiter'; yet the man who does no wrong needs no law (cf. Rom. xiii. 3). There are anticipations of our Lord's 'Why beholdest thou the mote?' teaching. A fine body with a poor soul is a fine boat with a poor pilot. 'How charming a thing is man when he is man.' Injustice should not be done, not even to a house-slave, nor wrong suffered. To refrain renders one humane. To seek unrighteous gains is to mortgage oneself to misfortune. A righteous man will not even think evil. Countenance reflects the beauty or the beast within. No good man is a foreigner or ignobly born; the nature of all is one and the same, and it is character which makes the tie of kin. It is a duty to assist the wronged and oppose the wicked. If we all helped one another

no man would stand in need of Fortune. Let each joyfully join a league to enforce justice, regarding as equally his own the wrong done to another, and then the mischief of bad men would almost or entirely cease. It is the character of a speaker which does the persuading, not the eloquence; for eloquent speech, if it bring damage, is something dire. To sin is innate and common, but to retrace one's course of sin is not of the average man, but the eminent. Echoing Plato and anticipating Jesus, Menander teaches that all that brings defilement comes from within. Further, conscience makes the coward; and, while in the act no one is conscious of the greatness of his sin, later on he sees.

Men are advised to show mercy with cheerfulness and without upbraiding (cf. Rom. xii. 8; Jas. i. 5). The slave is appreciated as a man. He is not seldom represented as loyal, self-sacrificing, generous, courageous, affectionate, sympathetic. It is disgraceful to treat him unjustly. No one is slave with a freeman's mind. Permit him to speak freely and he becomes less slavish. But better die than lose freedom. Forbearance and forgiveness are exalted. They are reckoned proofs of true Hellenic spirit. The characters of Glycera, Myrrhina, Pamphila, and Demeas well exhibit these traits. The truly nobly-born think lofty thoughts. As to pedigrees, it is the good man who is legitimate and the bad man spurious; the man whose natural bent is good, though Aethiop, is nobly born. Patriotism finds fine expression: 'The spot that bred me, that I count a god.' Heroes are bred where livelihood comes hard. Prejudice and credulity are hurtful to truth, which is the chief contribution to security in life. Be frank; call a spade a spade.

Menander dislikes those who talk too much, and think or do too little. Speech reveals character. Quackery and empty noise catch the fool. He condemns the austere life as lacking somewhat in natural affection, also the boldness of folly, and excess of caution from excess of fear. He

laughs at the physicians ; they kill their patients, or, by way of building a towering reputation, are wont to diagnose insignificant troubles as greater ones. Effrontery is cynically called the most illustrious deity. The soldier is represented as a very unlikeable person. While his actors can rail at old age in real Hellenic style as a second childhood, days in which there is no pleasure, unsightly, burdensome, it is also said that it makes intelligence the more secure. In another fragment there is a good parallel to the Jewish *Wisdom of Solomon* iv. 8 f. : ' 'Tis not white hair that engenders wisdom ; the character of some is mature by nature.'

The familiar maxim 'Know thyself' is often quoted. It means 'if thou wilt investigate thy own circumstances and what should be thy own line of action.' Nevertheless, it is more practical to say : Know other folk. Fathers and children are the subjects of many verses. A good father makes sacrifices for his son, and trains him not so much by vexatious correction as by persuasion. It is observed that the father who loves most is also angered for the least cause and unduly bitter in rebuke. Sons with sense mean happiness ; daughters are troublesome. A father has no greater joy than a child continent and wise. For a son to rail at a father is blasphemy ; parents must be given honours fit for gods. The poet is hostile to quacks. He who has most *nous* is at once the best prophet and adviser. For right Reason there is a temple everywhere ; for *nous* is the god to give an oracle. Reasoning power and intelligence directed to the better bring greatness. War is an evil business. Time heals all ills. The solitude of country life breeds virtue and love of freedom, and ministers to invention.

Jack-of-all-trades is master of none. At times it is well to be mad with the mad. It is a piece of luck to have few relations. The farmer should appreciate Menander's *mot* that his life holds pleasure, since with hopes it comforts his pains. He knows something of crowds : 'In the hour of

calculation the daring plans of mobs are set forth with difficulty, but when the time for action comes, if the occasion is carefully selected, they hit on unexpected ways and means.'

The reader will have noticed that while many of these sayings are utterly commonplace, there are expressions of higher thought not unworthy to be compared with the New Testament. His works are of prime importance for students of Greek ethical philosophy. They reveal a man of clear vision, keen observation, judicial mind, with a great store of worldly wisdom. The interest lies chiefly in the ordinary things of everyday life; he sees beauty in lowly places. His figures are of universal appeal; the characters he created are modern. He appeals to that in us which remains the same in all ages.

HARRY RANSTON.

THE READING PUBLIC AND HISTORY

BOLINGBROKE observes somewhere that 'to converse with historians is to keep good company.' Many of them, he says, were excellent men, and others who were most evidently not so yet took particular pains in their writings to pass for men as good as the others. Moral worth and intellectual excellence are surely the salt of good company; and if the historians give us both, or at all events the appearances of them, it is folly surely not to consort with them.

The same writer gives another reason in favour of the study of history. An early and proper application to it (he says) 'will contribute extremely to keep our minds free from a ridiculous partiality in favour of our own country, and a vicious prejudice against others,' though he contends that 'the same study will create in us a preference of affection to our own country.' But, with regard to the 'ridiculous partiality' of which he speaks, 'nothing' (he says) 'can contribute more to prevent us from being tainted with this vanity than to accustom ourselves to contemplate the different nations of the earth in that vast map which history spreads before us, in their rise and their fall, in their barbarous and civilized states, in the likeness and unlikeness of them all to one another, and of each to itself.' Polybius affirms that the study of history is the best school wherein a man may learn how to conduct himself in all the situations of life, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus that history is philosophy teaching by examples.

Tributes other than these to the importance of historical studies might easily be cited, some ancient and some modern; but perhaps the opinion of Hegel that the principal lesson of history is that men do not profit by it is the most true and apposite of all that might be instanced on this head. Human kind is slow to learn. We learn but leisurely, and very imperfectly, by our own personal experiences, and have

small regard, in this way, to those of others, from which we might learn, however, quite as much as from that which happens to ourselves. To expect, therefore, nations to learn from history, to make the past their guide as to the present and their notions respecting the future, seems expecting too much of human nature. Each succeeding age seems to prefer to play its own part on the stage of the world, without the slightest regard to the experiences of those that precede it in a point of time, just as individual men and women, consciously or unconsciously, elect to play their parts in the world independently altogether of the example of their ancestors. This is the true obstacle to the spread of historical studies. In short, our vanity and self-esteem is such that we prefer to take our own course, to go our own gait, no matter how much experience in the shape of the experience of others may warn us against it.

But it must be allowed that there are other obstacles than these to a more free and general use of history than human kind is used to make of it, for purely self-disciplinary and educational purposes. And some of these obstacles take their rise from the nature of written history itself. Some men find history intolerably 'dry' and dull; but, then, these are minds that would find anything so above the intellectual level of a twopenny news-sheet, or a novel that has passed into the ranks of the very 'best sellers.' Plainly in no conceivable circumstances can history be for such as these. But there are minds a long way better furnished, and which are temperamentally drawn to serious studies, that have no sort of patience, nevertheless, with those of history. They may think, with Matthew Arnold, that history is but a Mississippi of lies, or, with Croce, that there is no true history save history that is contemporary. In the first case, the sceptic will turn aside contemptuously from history, and will sourly refuse to modify his attitude, though Froude assures him that history must needs be drama. In the second, if, as Croce affirms, all history is

contemporary in the sense that the past is always viewed and judged through the spectacles of the living, where, then, can the value of history and historical studies lie, since to read history is to read for a purpose—to transport oneself into the past, to surround oneself, as it were, with the atmosphere of it, so as to understand what the men and women of times antecedent to our own really thought and truly acted? It must be allowed that this objection to history were grave indeed, could it be sustained; but, then, like much of Croce's thought, it has been proved quite unsustainable, which makes, or ought to make, a world of difference to the objector.

Still, history is faulty, unnecessarily imperfect, in the sense that it too often stands in the way of its own advancement, of its own progress, and that of the studies bound up with it, towards a better understanding 'twixt itself and the public. In a word, it might be a great deal more popular than it is; and it is not at present as popular as it might, and should, be, because, very largely, its own mechanism of being is imperfect. In fine, its appearance is unnecessarily forbidding, even repellent. I say its appearance; but there is more at fault in it than that. The truth is, that most, if not all, histories are wrongly planned. Considered as a class, historians do not appear to have thought out the contingencies and implications of boredom, of misunderstanding, and hopeless confusion, contained in the plan or method they pursue of reducing history to writing.

Take an ordinary general history (and most particular ones have precisely the same fault); how is it planned? As a rule, it begins by telling the reader something about the remote beginnings of the nation or kingdom that is the immediate object of the historian's studies. From thence it proceeds to instruct him touching the rise of the nation or kingdom to power and prominence. Simultaneously, it brings on the carpet a medley of kings, nobles, commons, wars, uprisings, plagues, famines, convulsions of nature,

crusades and pilgrimages, national excursions and party alarms, the whole mess being sprinkled over with a heavy outpouring of dates, some of which may be certain, but many of which are very far indeed from being so. I venture to think this way, or plan, or method, of writing history—and I submit my account of it is no caricature—extremely wrong.

I have spoken above on the necessity of popularizing history. But by that expression I mean, not the making a laughing-stock of history to the learned world in order to tickle the mob and render it more amenable to its teachings. I am aware that, if Clio is a muse, she is a serious muse, and must ever be treated with all due ceremony. Nor am I at all wishful that the particulars I have glanced at above should be excluded from history. Kings and dynasties, wars, invasions, tumults, and the rest of those momentous particulars in which the vulgar historians rejoice, must needs have their due place in history, which, without them, would not be history. Thus much, surely, is self-evident, as is, indeed, the necessity the historian is under of telling us with truth what he can touching the originals of nations and kingdoms, their traditions, the first steps they took to make themselves acquainted with arts and letters, and so forth. All these things are part and parcel of the true *materia historica*, and, being so, are properly included in history.

In fine, the objection I entertain to written history concerns, not the content, but the method of it. I urge, not a change of heart in the historian, but a change of plan. Let his kings and wars, and the rest of the monuments of departed pomp and power, remain, but set in their proper places in his scheme of history—not obtruded, before the reader's mind is properly prepared to receive and to digest them, which is too often, if not always, done.

I hold that the writer who desires to write history 'with a punch,' to gain the ear of a wider public than that to which he is used to address himself, should conform, in a measure,

to the method of the novelist. 'A novel,' says Henry James, 'is, in its broadest definition, a personal, a direct, impression of life ; that, to begin with, constitutes its value, which is greater, or less, according to the intensity of the impression.' Now, it is plain that the way to produce the impression spoken of by James, and to produce it in the degree required to render it perfect, is to study human nature. I venture to think that no other means will, or can, prove answerable to the ends proposed ; and that is why the truly great novel is invariably and primarily a study and history of human nature.

But the historian proceeds on a different plan. To affirm that he entirely neglects human nature would be absurd, if not malicious, exaggeration ; but to affirm that he does not enough regard it, and further—and here is the true point of objection to him—that he systematically misplaces it in his scheme of writing, is, I hold, very true. The first concern of the novelist is human nature ; but of the historian the last, or wellnigh the last, apparently. Let this situation, so far as it touches the historian, be reversed ; and in that event I make bold to prophesy that history will flourish, and all science of it become popular.

The business of the novelist is mainly individual types, the psychology of particular men and women, and the effects wrought by the cause I name in their lives, and in those of the persons with whom they come in contact, whose natures, in their turns, react on their own. There we have the whole business of the novelist in a nutshell ; and there we have, or would have were history written properly, if not the whole, at all events a large part, of the business of the historian similarly reduced to a few words. Only, whereas the business of the novelist consists in individual psychology, that of the historian, on the other hand, consists no less plainly in the different natures of nations and the effects wrought by those different natures on world affairs. Let him, therefore, first explicate those ; when he shall have

explained human nature to us as it has revealed itself in the objects of his studies, then, but not till then, will the public begin to understand those other things which, once they understand, may safely and reasonably be added unto them, but which must remain as Greek to them so long as the means in human nature necessary to enable them to apprehend them are withheld. A history of Rome prefaced by a critical study of the nature of the Roman people would prepare the minds of the people to apprehend the true uses and purposes of a written history of Rome; but histories from which this information has to be tediously collected, if, indeed, it can be collected at all, will continue to be what they have ever been, so far as the vast majority of the reading public is concerned, namely, so much learned lumber, so much ingenious but neglected reading-matter.

ERSKINE OF MAR.

EVOLUTION AND MALIGNANCY

WHEN Herbert Spencer coined the expression 'the survival of the fittest,' as an alternative to Darwin's 'natural selection,' he should have explained that in reality the formula amounts only to this—'the survival of the most favoured,' i.e. those regarding which it is not known why they survived.

'Survival by favour' leaves the door conveniently open to all manner of conjecture, according to the predilections of the interpreter. It comes to this: Survival by the x factor. In a sophisticated sense, therefore, it may be said that the theory is correct, since it leaves the factors indeterminate, and does not commit itself to any factor.

The place of x may, in the future, be taken by luck, or by cunning, or by food, climate, soil, co-operation, competition, or warfare, and so on, and still Darwin is algebraically correct, save that we get no help from him in practical matters.

The modern spirit cannot be content with anything less than an interpretation in terms of physiology, sociology, and psychology, of the method of evolution; nay, it demands correlation between, and synthesis of, all these departments of thought towards the establishment of a comprehensive theory, one that will really assist us in the practice of life, instead of being merely a so-called 'working hypothesis,' i.e. a shield of ignorance.

Ask a Darwinian whether 'natural selection' comes under any of the above headings, and he will be perplexed. He has, in fact, never troubled himself about these factors, having a convenient entity ready to which to refer the causation of evolution. His theory involves belief in 'nature'—a shame-faced word for God. Darwin has saved mechanism in biology by sacrificing all else to it.

To the shrewder critics it has been clear for some time that 'natural selection' is but a synonym for 'nature'—with special emphasis of the 'red in tooth and claw.' This emphasis has been so monstrously overdone as to make it possible to assert that nature has no concern whatever with morality. The morality of nature was, in fact, depicted as so low, so near zero, as to make it practically identical with 'non-morality'—a convenient way of shelving altogether a quantity that is not amenable to laboratory research, nor presenting congenial study for a naturalist. Here we touch the weakest spot of Darwinism; and it is almost ludicrous to find critics, as is so often the case, confining themselves to the less important and more debatable issues, except, of course, that they, too, are weak, in what Darwin himself was weak, namely, in pathology.

Nominally a theory of fitness, Darwinism yet cannot tell us wherein fitness consists, nor what it is that constitutes unfitness. It mixes the two up indiscriminately. It has no standards of fitness, nor of any values at all. It has done more to obstruct the advance of practical knowledge than any other obstacle these sixty years. This is my considered opinion, despite the pretensions of its fanatic adherents. Natural selection was the biggest hoax of the nineteenth century.

What is wanted above all in the conduct of life, as in the avoidance of disease and of degeneration, is discrimination between good and bad. But of such discrimination we get none in Darwinism. Quite the contrary. With morality conveniently out of the way, on that system, a murderer, a thief, a parasite, so long as he 'adapts' and 'survives,' is the peer of the honest organism which lives by work and symbiosis.

It may be asked, How is it that this very theory has nevertheless obtained such a profound hold of biologists as it has, and is so difficult to shake or to eradicate? The answer is that the method and attitude of science are

wrong, biology in particular being at arm's length from reality. It is the proud boast of the modern medicine-man, including the biologist and the physiologist, that they stand beyond good and evil. That is to say, they study things from some abstract point of view which has no bearing on our general well-being. They are specialists, confined within a very limited outlook, wherefore it is that a theory of limited scope such as 'natural selection' seems the most appropriate for their purposes. If the people want health instead of theories, let them look out for it themselves! None the less, there are to-day a few scientific thinkers who protest against the scientific naturalism of our times. It is dawning upon them that physico-chemical biology may not be the only possible sort of biology; that, moreover, the sacrosanct 'scientific method' may, after all, not be the only possible sort of biological method to reveal all things in heaven and earth. The methods of the 'well-established firm of Democritus, Holbach, and Huxley, Ltd.,' one critic says, fail to commend themselves to the newer generation. 'Ruins are ruins,' he states, 'and to make the scientific method, with its dependence on the inductive process, its constant employment of statistics, its suppression of the individual, its inevitable tendency to analyse, its rejection of all entities which cannot be numerically expressed, and, in a word, its formidable subjectivity, into what we might call God's own method, is now, more than ever, a hopeless task.' *The Times* the other day, in a leader, foreshadowed a coming change. 'There is room for things besides science, above all for value. . . . *Jam nusquam natura latet . . . quod valet immensum est.*'

It is in the present cancer emergency that the impotence of the present scientific method, and the imperviousness to new ideas of the Darwinian school, make themselves most acutely felt. The crux of the cancer difficulty is this—to determine the reason why some of our own cells turn parasites. What more natural than that we should apply to

'evolution' to gather from it how malignancy and parasitism arise in nature? What is it that constitutes the seamy side of nature? On my view of the matter, chiefly and briefly it is this—selfishness; much the same, in fact, as in the analogous case of human perversity. There is abundant reason for that view, as is here again to be demonstrated.

Amongst skilled criminals in nature, parasites easily rank first. Yet vainly does one scan orthodox biological literature for a due recognition of the fact, or for enlightenment with regard to criminology in nature generally. Rather than deal with the matter, and acknowledge that felonious organisms are law-breakers, divorcees from some vital biological principle, sinners against the divine purpose in nature, the orthodox biologist inverts the idea of progress, alleging the degradation of parasites merely to represent a genuine simplification, and affirming it to constitute evolutionary success—success to be ranked on a par with that of symbiotic creatures, which, contrariwise, exhibit progressive integration. Seeing that the parasites are (though in a limited sense) veritable adepts at 'surviving' and 'adapting,' the orthodox are reluctant, conformably to the poverty of their criteria, to frame an indictment, albeit otherwise constrained by the facts to admit that the parasite is 'otiose,' as one that lives at the expense of other creatures without rendering any counter-services—a flagrant crime, indeed, on the view that the interdependence of organisms is a living reality, and that serviceability is a paramount necessity of life. The fact that a murderous tribe of men need some efficiency to succeed in their vocation, or 'adaptation,' does not prove that human society is constituted on a non-moral basis. No more does it follow, because skilled murderers in nature need a considerable amount of efficiency to 'succeed' in their career of profligacy, that therefore nature is non-moral.

One result—the desired result—of the casuistry usually

adopted with regard to parasitism is precisely the getting rid of all imputations of morality in nature, a subject that presents insuperable difficulties to a biologist. How is a laboratory worker, steeped in materialism, to deal with such uncongenial issues as morality and sociality? Easier it is to deny the very existence of moral purpose in nature than endeavour to establish the fact of its universality. In my opinion, to deprecate morality, as has been done, because of the failure of 'natural selection' to acknowledge the immorality of parasitism, amounts almost to a crime against humanity.

Parasites are things of obscene and unlovely forms. Frequently they have lost the locomotor and sensory organs which their free-living congeners possessed. Even the alimentary organs may be lost. Often not much more remains to them than a mere sac containing fertile eggs—such is the goal reached, and the retribution suffered, by those organisms which adopt, in the language even of orthodox writers, 'deplorably lazy and ignoble habits.'

How shall we ascribe normality to such as these, seeing that in many ways they bear the unmistakable stigmata of offenders against the moral order of the universe? To write biology so as to exculpate parasites, is to justify iniquity in every form and to adapt science to perverted instincts. But, if it can be shown that successful survival is in reality achieved, not by cheating every other creature, but by rendering services to the community, then this alters the whole case of evolutionary philosophy. Rather than adapt our philosophy and practice of life to the fetish of 'natural selection,' we should endeavour to discover the sense in which we may legitimately ascribe pathology and immorality to parasitism. By so doing we would conform our theory to common sense, and produce good results generally.

It is quite clear that the 'fitness' which Darwinians declare to lead to evolutionary success frequently does

nothing of the kind, but, on the contrary, is the 'fitness' that leadeth straight to ruin. Much mischief is due to the fact that biologists have concentrated far too exclusively upon the 'sifting' processes of nature, neglecting the positive constructive processes, unmindful of the fact that what sifting there is is merely incidental upon the building, and that, hence, even the sifting can be duly understood only if the building is understood. Nature may be said to build by chemical, physical, and socio-physiological processes, all of which are essential to the elevation of type.

But here, too, 'repression' is at work, and no one has troubled himself hitherto to elucidate those all-essential building processes. At most they were 'implied.' So Darwinists guard themselves occasionally by saying that 'natural selection' acts, not merely by destruction, but also by 'preservation.' Evidently, on second thoughts, they would fain impute at least some amount of constructive character to the 'natural process.' But they stop short at the suggestion, and leave the matter abundantly obscure, lest scrutiny lead to a more complete interpretation which might stultify their narrow, if 'convenient,' mechanistic construction of the method of evolution. Destruction, attended by a modicum of 'non-destruction'—that may be said to represent the all-in-all of the Darwinian philosopher. Were his constructions not merely dialectic, could he enlighten us at all about 'non-destruction' ('preservation'), he would not be as puzzled as he is about the extinction of species, a phenomenon that cries aloud for explanation. Never have I come across an orthodox writer who has even suggested a reasonable principle, or that principle of progress the divorce from which accounts for the degeneration, or the extinction, of species. Convenient dialectics save much thinking, much research.

The cancer-cell is a parasite. It battens selfishly on the bodily substance without transmuting it to the benefit of the body as a whole, and it reverts in many ways, as do

parasites, to methods which are incompatible with the needs of an evolved social life.

What are the chief characteristics of parasites in nature ?

(1) Parasitism presents a kind of intensification of the predatory habit.

(2) All parasites show more or less degeneration, according to the intensity of the parasitic habit. (The malignancy increases with the ease with which the parasite obtains its meals.)

(3) Parasites are weak, and can carry out their depredations only when they encounter a weak host.

(4) Parasites are, in their turn, so commonly preyed upon by others that this amounts almost to a leading principle of (the new) pathology. The phenomenon is known under the name of 'hyper-parasitism.'

I consider cancer to represent a form of hyper-parasitism. That is to say, the parasitism of some of our parts comes as the nemesis of our habits in so far as these make us guilty of parasitism. If man lives idly and luxuriously, takes more than he gives, then he is encouraging his cells to revolt and become parasitic upon himself. At one and the same time he maltreats them by forbidding them their natural play of individuality, their natural functions, and he pampers them by making the attainment of nourishment and satisfaction too easy. By far the commonest cause of early senility and death is over-eating, and the eating of wrong kinds of food. A man who indulges himself is engaged in destroying that perfect balance of activities which it took millions of years to reach ; he is making every cell of his body revert to the time when each cell had a separate and un-co-ordinated appetite. Is it a wonder, then, if some part of his body, which has been taught to make claims for an easy and indolent life, finds out at last that it can live without trouble if it rebels from its allegiance ?

It is an incontestable fact that some foods are specially calculated to promote gregariousness, and, hence, I submit,

at the same time health and progressive integration ; whilst others are, on the contrary, prone to induce solitariness, and, hence, backwardness or disease, as the case may be. Solitary species are commonly those characterized by predatory and 'infeeding' habits, and, according to my theory, inasmuch as this is the case, they are inferior to the gregarious 'cross-feeding' species. All of which is full of bearing on the evolution of malignancy, since the cancer-cell is, by common consent, starting a selfish course as a parasitic or predatory entity.

The investigation of cancer, therefore, involves the study of a contrast. On the one hand, we have the symbiotic, frugal, and vegetarian species, exhibiting gregariousness, harmony of social and physiological conditions, and a whole train of favourable circumstances arising from their virtuous and felicitous adaptation in life.

On the other hand, we have the wasteful, predatory, and parasitic species, inclined to solitariness, to destructive external and internecine warfare, exceedingly liable to infection, through the food they consume and the weakness that this brings in its train, exhibiting disintegration of social and physiological community, and showing a tendency to 'over-specialization.'

It is one of the marks of the true parasite that it feeds upon substances which have already been built up, complicated, and organized into a close similarity with its own bodily fabric. Perpetual 'infeeding' of this kind is abhorred by nature, according to my theory, since it inhibits or abuses a biologically essential chain of processes by which we turn vegetable substance into flesh, just as plants build up organic matter from mineral. Again and again have I indicted our carnivorous habits as a main cause of disease. But few there are as yet who realize how weighty is the argument against these habits. It might be said that to devour other creatures, dead or alive, might be appropriate for scavengers and parasites, but that such habit is not

compatible with the high status of man. Here the adage applies that *noblesse oblige* which cannot be infringed save to the detriment of health. There is in 'infeeding' no adequate reciprocity between the species, and, hence, no beneficial result. One should not expect anything better from a round of biological relations based on mutual plunder. Health and evolution should be primarily founded, as I have often shown, on biological partnership, or symbiosis, which alone is capable of constructive physiological advance.

There is every indication to show that the social states of the insects, in order to become truly successful, must be based on a vegetarian diet. In the absence of such a beneficial physiological basis of life the development of the insect states would have been unthinkable, since it is on a vegetarian basis alone that true gregariousness can be achieved. According to Professor Wheeler, of Harvard, the ants, in particular, exhibit a progressive tendency to resort more and more to a purely vegetarian régime as the only means of developing and maintaining populous and efficient colonies. What is more, after an exhaustive study of insect evolution, he states that the facts force even those who, like himself, are not vegetarians to confess that the trend of evolution in the most interesting of social insects is towards ever-increasing vegetarianism.

The truly wonderful results of vegetable-sustained gregariousness (of 'cross-feeding') amongst those communities—which results, as I have often shown, are by no means confined to these—should be as an eye-opener to us in all questions relating to dietetics, to disease, and to population. No medical statistics on dietaries can ever rival the generalizations so obtained in importance or in reliability.

Without realizing the profound significance of the phenomenon, naturalists have from time to time been compelled to bear testimony to the striking contrast which exists in the results of cross-feeding and infeeding habits. There are, as an instance, the insects of the notorious mantis tribe,

presenting an appearance of innocence and quietness, which, however, is of the most deceptive kind; for the activity of the creatures consists of a series of wholesale massacres, carried out day and night, the number of victims being enormous. Nor do they spare their own kind. Here we get an illustration of the seamy side of biology, of the infeeding and 'cancerous' phase of life. Even an orthodox writer is compelled to observe the following: 'This voracity and waste of animal food (on the part of mantis) is very remarkable when we recollect that many insects have such perfect power of assimilation that during the entire period of growth they only consume a mass of food—and that vegetable [*sic*]*—*but little larger in size than the bulk they themselves attain. This fact is well known in the case of *Bruchus*, *Caryoborus*, and other seed-feeding insects.'

What a different picture is thus presented when we approach the cross-feeding, symbiotic pole of life. The usual prejudice is that vegetable food is 'highly innutritious'; and it, therefore, astonishes this writer that cross-feeders should want so little of it, and yet be the better for their moderation.

Usually it is the case that we find the frugal class of organisms engaged in symbiotic service to their food-plants, thus furthering in a truly economic and synthetic manner the grand scheme of co-evolution between animal and plant, and fulfilling a truly evolutionary mission, whilst reaping the reward of progressive organization for themselves. Verily interpretation is to-day more important than research.

H. REINHEIMER.

THE MODERN VIEW OF GOD

WE have most of us accepted to-day the conclusion of Otto that religion is *sui generis*, springing from a basic fact 'primary, unique, underivable from anything else.' This basic fact is the consciousness, which is felt by man as soon as he has any consciousness at all, that there is a power behind what is visible, different from himself, though like himself, and different from the normal working of his environment.

This sense of the 'holy' has been moralized in the process of human evolution, and has always been a factor in ethical religion. Its unanalysed awe has grown into the fear of God, 'our living dread,' to use the beautiful phrase of Milton. Ethics and religion have evolved together. The terrible holiness of God had, through the inspiration of individual men, become associated with all the claims of the highest values of human life as they became more and more clearly defined; they have been seen to be no mere human aspirations; they are the will of God.

What was accepted as special revelation, knowledge which it was not conceivable that man could reach by his natural powers of mind, has proclaimed God to be the source of life and change in nature, and a Master who requires certain things of man. As knowledge of nature has developed, the conception of God's working in nature has developed, and as man's conception of himself as personal has evolved, his conception of God has evolved with it, and been able to receive and assimilate the higher conceptions of such minds as he reckoned to be specially inspired and commissioned to impart them.

The knowledge of God had thus been always related to the general knowledge of the time. Even what was considered to be revelation has been subject to this law. It has again

and again been twisted and conformed to the current notions of the day, and only later generations have disentangled it from its merely transitory associations. Once definitely proclaimed, it has had to be expressed and re-expressed in new formulae.

There is therefore always a modern conception of God. The sun as it moves from morning to evening brings a new beauty hour by hour to the snowy peaks of the mountains on which I look now and again as I write. So the conceptions of men alter about God, though the realities remain the same.

The modern conception of God is just that inevitable variation of idea which the new reactions of man to his environment entail. New knowledge of nature, new knowledge of mental processes, new standards of historical accuracy, and new social and political influence are all influential in disintegrating and reconstructing our religious ideas.

We are asking here what outstanding influences have been at work in our own time, changing the thinking man's ideas about God. We would also raise the question: What in the modern attitude may be reckoned a right and proper—nay, inevitable—series of reactions, and what should be stigmatized as aberrations, wilful and irrational assumptions and unjustified deductions from imperfect generalization?

Let us glance first at the chief forces and tendencies which have been at work disintegrating and also reconstructing religious ideas.

(I.) EFFECT OF CRITICISM.—There is the rigorous and exacting criticism of Christian and other documents long reckoned to be above criticism. To most people fifty years ago, the Bible was throughout divinely inspired. It did not only contain the Word of God, it *was* the Word of God. The idea that it contained the record of a progressive revelation 'in sundry times and in divers manners,' in spite of the difference in spirit of the Old and New Testaments, in spite of

the proclamation of God's Fatherhood by Christ, and in spite of the attitude of St. Paul, was hardly guessed at. Every primitive conception of Jehovah, right and true for its own time, had to be squared somehow with the doctrine of the Father revealed in Jesus Christ. To the credit of its overwhelming beauty, Christ's teaching, no doubt, in the main overcame the imperfect Jewish ideas and beliefs, but some sediment remained, and was the source of much unchristian conduct, and the justification of many cruel acts.

All doubts of the supreme and unique manifestation of God in the New Testament are now swept away by historical criticism of the Old. None can doubt that this disintegration is of the greatest value to religion ; but we must also realize that it is a shaking which for the moment appears to shake the things that cannot be shaken. And this is, of course, more evident when the critics proceed to analyse the New Testament. We may have no fear of the result, or any doubt that the minutest investigation of the Gospels will result in anything but the assurance of their substantial truth, nor that the records of the early Christian Church are in the main accurate ; but the very popularizing of critical knowledge among people not very capable of estimating literary and historical probabilities has no doubt introduced a spirit of uncertainty into many minds about the truth of the revelation of the Father. Men long leaned upon authority, and the authority for the Protestant was a book, and the book is found to be in part inaccurate ; it remains to discover what in it is real truth ; doctors disagree. There is no question but that the person who has little facility for discovering what is true himself, or weighing the uniqueness of the Christian revelation, is likely for the moment to lose something of his reverence for its authority.

For the earnest spiritual thinker, disintegration of belief will be followed by speedy reconstruction, no doubt. It was a growing sense of the supremacy of the highest values that noted the difference of spirit in the Old and New Testaments.

The latter stand out clear in the person and teaching and life of Jesus Christ ; our supreme values, and others that man still vainly strives to reach, are resident in Him, and are more and more seen to be in Him the more criticism inquires into the conditions of His time and the place He takes in the temporal sphere of history and human thought. In that uniqueness of Christ, by which He goes in front of human values, and inspires them, is the certainty of a higher reconstruction of religious ideas, though the disintegration of a religion based solely on the Bible may seem to many to be a very serious characteristic of modern life, indicative of future peril.

(II.) EFFECT OF SCIENCE.—There has been during the last half century an unparalleled advance in scientific knowledge, unveiling a universe of order through and through. ' Truth that works ' is constantly being discovered, and the constancy of natural forces proved and proved again. The world offers to the scientific a field of adventure, a sphere of speculation, and a treasury from which new weapons, new medicines, and new adornments can be drawn for humanity. But science and its results are no longer the preserve of a few ardent specialists ; all educated people have more or less a share in it, and are moved by its spirit ; it is taught in the school and popularized in the newspaper. Its great avenues to real and tangible knowledge of unchanging law must have exerted, and be still exerting, tremendous and subtle influence on the orientation of men's minds. There is the truth that however far you may track the feet of nature you find law. It is orderly at the roots, this world in which we live. Such tested truth gives to the superficial the impression of a mechanical and automatic universe ; its energy seems all its own, and all forms of life—mental and spiritual, as well as physical—appear but part of the transient phenomena of a small corner of the universe : all the trend is towards a concentration of interest upon the manifold activities of nature, and the existence of God is a hypothesis

that is not wanted. There are points of view that need not be stressed ; we live in the midst of them, and react from them daily. God's universe is so automatic in its working that we watch it, and tend to forget the spirit that animates it, the mind that planned it, and the purpose towards which it is moving. Many are even willing to degrade the noble uniqueness of the human mind to the level of nature, and to essay the vain adventure of explaining our certainty of transcendent values as the outcome of nature's evolving order.

But if such a view was the natural trend of the days of Huxley and Spencer, when the world seemed explicable in terms of matter and motion, the further scientific advances of our own time, which find in the atom only centres of force, and the minuter knowledge of their correlations, seem to make the spiritual world nearer. The old materialism is being bowed out. Force holds the stage, and the idea of force suggests will and purpose ; the electrons may even be conscious centres of force.

It is, however, evident that the spectacle of a universe ruled throughout by law calls for arguments of a very special kind, if miraculous intervention in human history is to be thought possible—arguments that can only be drawn from human personality, and not from nature as it appears to the inquirer. It is clear that the modern argument for the miraculous must start from the ascription to God of a freedom analogous to the imperfect type of freedom, hampered as it is by internal lack of harmony, which we discover in ourselves.

(III.) **PSYCHOLOGY AND ILLUSION.**—Modern psychology is only a young science, but its interest is for the many, and its influence exceedingly far-reaching. The modern world is permeated by the subtle suspicion, which comes from pseudo-scientific sources, that religious beliefs are the illusions of early man, crystallized by authority into dogmas, and unsupported by the results of scientific inquiry. It is no doubt true that the seed of religion was sown in a soil of

credulity and illusion; but, in assessing the value of a product, we do not weigh the seed, but the grain of the harvest. Religion is to be judged, not by the beliefs of savages, but by the place of the values it stands for in civilized life, and for its explanation of the meaning of the universe. There has been far too much mixing up of lowly origins with the result of ages of development; the value of a living thing is hidden in the seed, emerges in the blade, and can only be judged by the corn in the ear. 'Some learned anthropologists,' wrote Inge the other day, 'have never seen a savage, and would be much surprised if they met one.'

Dr. Oman has recently classified and criticized the theories that regard religious conceptions as illusions, under the heads of intellectual, feeling, and practical aberrations. Thus: (1) theism is regarded as a false intellectual construction coincident with certain stages of human evolution. This is what Comte taught; and never has a doctrine had less effect on men's life. (2) Theism is said to spring from something sentimental; it is the expression of desire unfulfilled in personal life, the setting up of an imaginary Being who satisfies our desires. But the original notion of God was surely of one that did not satisfy desires, but stood strangely apart from humanity. (3) It is said to have been born of practical requirements, and proved useful. Unsupported by such help as science gives, the person who had somehow been evolved had to assert his 'will-to-live,' and so constructed transcendent conceptions. This is the view of Leuba, drawn, of course, from Kant's teaching evacuated of its moral truth. Or with Durkheim the illusion is bred in the pool of social consciousness, a kind of bond of union and imaginary support of social ideas. The criticism is that true religious ideals are very often *not* the fruit of social conditions, but come from the vision of prophetic minds, who, because they are in direct conflict with the social consciousness of their time, are persecuted and martyred.

The general answer to all such theories, which, no doubt, in some form or other, are prevalent, can be summarized in a way which we think will prove acceptable to more thoughtful people still. (1) The elimination of the reality of the transcendent values, which are above and beyond nature, from life, robs man of his chief hold on reality, which lies in his inner self and from which he explains nature itself. (2) The degradation of the conception of God into impersonal force makes the life of the universe stupendously ridiculous and is quite unnecessary, since science continually reveals a network of interweaving forces working in co-operation, which show deliberate purpose and unitary life.

(IV.) EFFECT OF SOCIAL CHANGES.—There is the set of influences acting on religious belief which flow from the changed social conditions of the modern world. The disappearance of arbitrary rule; the practical comprehension of all in the political franchise; the growth through democracy of the spirit of social duty, coincident with the extension in many directions of individual liberty; the growing conviction that men can by their own combined efforts secure better conditions of life—these and such-like influences act upon religious convictions. God, the Absolute Ruler, has no longer his analogue in every land in the person of a king; government is elective; it can be thrown down and set up in a new form; to speak of God to a child as King of kings no longer means what it did. Moreover, we, who attain political results by co-operation, get into the way of thinking that we can obtain all humanity needs by mutual working and goodwill. 'Man is the master of things' is the theme of the modern hymn. All this suggests that a radical change in the conception of God, which is always connected with, if not based upon, human methods of government, is going on. Its movement is shown in the spirit of independence, in the attenuation of the need for the recognition of God in public worship, the lack of respect for the clergy as men with a divine commission, and the vanishing

of many traditional modes of personal and social attachment to the unseen world. Transcendent conceptions have become vague and misty, faith in a general goodwill working in life towards righteousness is the prevailing attitude of the millions, who cast only a passing thought away from their preoccupation with the labour and satisfactions of their life. Those who think more deeply, in whom the religious instinct is still strong, will strive to embody their highest values in their conception of God, will tend more and more to distrust a religion which fails to express such ideals or to stress their presence and their social value in actual experience. The God of to-day must have the highest practical value; He must be felt, not only as a far-off ideal, but as a personal force, loving and purposeful, co-operating with, and inspiring social brotherhood and redemptive efforts to save individuals from the results of bad heredity, economic slavery, and individual sin. Opinion may trend away from the direct belief in miraculous intervention, but not to the extent of denying its possibility. For to deny miracle is to deny God the freedom which we recognize as integral to our own personality.

ABERRATIONS OF MODERN RELIGIOUS THEORY.—Such may be the ideals to which modern religion, affected by the scientific knowledge and social trend of its hour, should tend. But we are well aware that the modern spirit is as open to aberrations in unfolding its religious conceptions as any spirit of the past. In its independence of all authority, and suspicion of traditional paths, it is wilful and irrational; its conceptions of an immanent God are often as unconvincing as past deistic conceptions of transcendent deity were cold and out of touch with life; they are generally narrowed down to attenuated parodies of what God really means to men; the moral element is often wellnigh eliminated from the conception of God, and the implanter of the imperative of duty transformed into a genial and somewhat casual companion.

Such conceptions, based on a blend of scientific deductions

and eviscerated Christianity, are all around us. Occasionally some thinker attempts to give them literary expression. Such was *The Invisible King*, by Mr. H. G. Wells. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which Mr. Wells put into outward form the impressions of other people besides himself; perhaps it was a merely individual groping after truth; but the book was very widely read, and discussed with approval in the newspaper Press. It must to some extent represent the kind of direction in which unfettered thought, attempting to account for the riddles of life, may be tending. Mr. Wells is very bitter against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which has, of course, many philosophical merits in its union of transcendence and immanence; but this does not deter him from setting forth his conception of God in a threefold form. There is the Veiled Being behind phenomena, of whom nothing can be known; there is the Life-Force in nature, impersonal and remorseless; and, thirdly, there is the real God, discovered in Mr. Wells's religious experience, an unseen Companion, 'glimpsed by the heart and felt as a real Presence.' This apotheosis of man's highest values is the Invisible King, growing with man's consciousness, struggling with him against obstacles, supporting him in his failures, and assuring him that his ideals are not illusions. Mr. Wells's account of this divine companion is often beautiful, and comparable to what the Christian would say of the realized presence of Christ.

These conceptions (1) fail to explain and moralize the universe. In Mr. Wells's scheme, Veiled Being or Creative Source, Life-Stream or Physical Nature, and man's Invisible King, are disconnected and even opposed. All sense of the transcendent creative purpose immanent in nature and coming to consciousness in man is blurred and lost. (2) The Invisible King is a pathetic figure; he is just humanity at its best; he has sprung from nature, from the highest growth of nature no doubt, but still from nature; he must not be affirmed to be one with the Creator, therefore he can assure

no triumph, nor eternal life. In short, he is the higher ideals of men hypostasized. But what is to be said if he is called an illusion? I think we may say that there are two characteristics of modern religion represented here: (a) the tendency to refuse all speculation about the ultimate character of God, and (b) the vague, yet sometimes fruitful, sense of the divine in human consciousness, as something opposed to the impersonal flow of the life-force in the natural order. 'If there is a transcendent God we cannot know Him or His will, yet in our life there is the consciousness of something at war with the mechanical order that seems to flow from Him,' is the mental attitude expressed by Mr. Wells.

Colonel Younghusband, again, has constructed an interesting theology, which, perhaps, expresses what thinking men feel about themselves, the world, and God, when they stand apart from traditional religion. He compares our sense of the divine to the sense of membership in a country, in short to patriotism. We discover we are Englishmen or Frenchmen, related to a motherland whose ideals form us, and to which we respond. So God is the soul of 'mother-nature,' and we in time discover Him in our consciousness. We discover that He is the 'Genius who is ever urging the world to create herself in higher perfection. But she has to work through us; and it is only through us, for we are parts of her, that she can achieve her purpose.' Thus, ultimately, man is the point where God becomes purposeful—just as in Nelson and Gladstone, England becomes purposeful. 'The world,' says Colonel Younghusband, 'is not like a sponge saturated with God, but like an egg, which an activity permeates, concentrated in specialized cells.' Finally, 'each of us is of use to keep up the God-hood of God.'

Such a scheme is open to criticism on many sides, and goes far beyond what the intuitions of the average man would justify. But it shows the kind of tendency in men of religious feeling to recognize that there is some stream of spiritual purpose in nature which human effort, because it is spiritual and conscious

of supernatural values, can advance and co-operate with. Why this creative force should be considered to be merely immanent is not clear, and the dogmatic assertions of mere immanence in the evolving order, and disregard of the implications of man's moral sense, of course lead to all the difficulties of older forms of pantheism.

TENDENCIES.—I think we may fairly say in summing up the tendencies of the modern religious spirit, as it seeks a way through naturalism :

(1) We find constantly a denial of transcendence. This denial is quite unnecessary and irrational. It throws over our surest inner convictions, and the intuitions present in man from the beginning. It is based on a stupid adherence to the scientific doctrine, useful in its own department, that we must not assert the existence of what we cannot test by experience.

(2) The preoccupation with the natural order, and the utilizing for practical purposes of scientific discoveries, is radically changing man's idea of himself, and of his relation to the spiritual force, which he is logically compelled to postulate behind nature and within himself. He is more independent, more inclined to conceive himself as a valuable co-operator with God than as a humble agent dependent on God for his whole ability to serve. He looks for God's companionship, rather than for his guidance and discipline.

(3) So his own spiritual inefficiency does not weigh on him. He falls back somewhat easily to natural views of what used to be called sin. He is inclined to trace wrongdoing rather to outward conditions than to his own selfishness. The moral claim of God, his call for holiness, the relation of Father and Soul-former to the child wayward and imperfect, is not felt so really and immediately as the consciousness that life is a rather free-and-easy period of work, in which there is no great necessity to rise above the accepted moral standards of our time.

(4) The social side of religion, the improvement of human

conditions, the bettering of laws, the removal of material hardships, and the general sweetening of life by humanitarian agencies tend to fill the field far more than the old concern of the individual with his Maker. The culture of the soul is lost in the desire to do something to make the world better. It is true that we must lose our souls to find them; yet we must remember that the individual can only advance social values by being himself of the highest individual value.

Side by side with the sense of law in the universe, and the aversion from the miraculous element in Christianity, there are many signs of the unstable condition of religious thought. The God of to-day apparently rules a world which, in spite of its apparent order, admits such irrational factors as mascots, omens, astrology and the reading of the future from glass globes, and other superstitions.

The dissatisfaction of the human mind with a mechanical interpretation of the world has turned many to spiritualism, and tended to re-establish in their hearts the certainty of a future life. The hypothesis of human survival after death, which leading spiritualists claim to be now experimentally proved, is not directly connected with the idea of God. But, though little that is of value can be said to have been contributed by spiritualism to our conception of God's nature—and though its experimental inductions are of a quite different order from the inner processes whereby eternal truth that is valuable makes itself known—yet its growth, and the scientific interest evoked by it to-day, as well as its popular attractiveness, tell us that man cannot live by bread alone, but that his nature strives to have some contact with the unseen and the eternal.

CONCLUSION.—The basic religious fact, 'primary, unique, underivable from anything else,' is the consciousness of the transcendent that is immanent in the world. Religion undoubtedly needs the double aspect of God. Religions and philosophies have often emphasized one to the exclusion

of the other. The world of to-day is trying to be content with the deduction of immanence from our vastly increased knowledge of natural law. Yet it is not content ; it would fain unite its God of nature by a sure bond with the God who speaks in the human heart. It would fain transform that dim vision, with its inscrutable purposes, into a being in whom the highest values of human life—truth, beauty, love, and right—are eternally realized. Religion based on nature, though we need not fear to affirm that the deepest investigation of nature reveals more and more evidence for the working of purposeful will, leaves the higher values unaccounted for, hanging in the air ; men have sought to find their source in nature and have failed, for they tell of what nature does not know. The nineteenth century was satisfied with a vision of the automatic progress of humanity certain and assured ; the bubble is now pricked ; material progress does not ensure the real progress of the spiritual side of life. And yet the spiritually-minded desire the spiritual, expressed in the eternal values, to triumph—if not in this world, yet in a sphere beyond this world. They yearn for the certainty that the spiritual in man and the power immanent in nature are one. The science of to-day gives no assurance of this ; no science ever can. The highest forms of religion have, however, affirmed it, and the unity of the transcendent and immanent is the Keystone of Christianity. The reunion lies, not in the sphere of science, but of faith ; in a sphere, that is to say, where there is no direct scientific test, except the experience of life. The reconciliation of the transcendent and the immanent lies in the revelation of the Word of God, with which it is not the purpose of this paper to deal, but towards the study of which it is hoped it may serve as a preparation.

W. J. FERRAR.

Notes and Discussions

A METHODIST MANIFESTO

SOME thirteen years ago a group of Wesleyan Methodist scholars published a volume of biblical and theological essays under the title of *The Chief Corner-Stone*. Their main object was to present a statement of evangelical faith, with a Methodist emphasis, that would not be out of harmony with the accepted results of modern critical scholarship. It was an effort to register the changes of a period of transition. The book appealed chiefly to those whose reading and thinking had already disclosed difficulties in certain traditional views in which they had been trained. One of the contributors to that volume has now carried the issues it raised a step farther, adapting them with skill and wisdom to the needs of readers standing at the beginning of a course of study to fit themselves for the office and work of Christian teachers. At the request of the Connexional Local Preachers' Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Dr. Maldwyn Hughes has prepared a statement of Christian doctrine (*Christian Foundations*, Epworth Press, 4s. net) for local preachers and candidates for the ministry which is bound to exercise a profound influence upon their presentation of the evangelical message. To many of these the setting in which this volume presents the articles of their faith will be unfamiliar. Compared with handbooks hitherto available for their use, it may suggest something approaching a revolution. In reality, however, it simply records the significance of a silent evolution which has slowly but definitely changed certain aspects of Christian doctrine for their immediate predecessors. These changes have been tested. They have revealed a positive gain in value and authority for the presentation of evangelical truth for the present generation. They are awakening and sustaining a new way of evangelism, and gradually providing a basis for a fresh and arresting standardization of evangelical theology. Any theological teacher who is able to make them accessible to the rising generation of preachers renders a service of incalculable importance to evangelical religion. Dr. Hughes has achieved the distinction such service deserves.

In the main the changes discernible in his book derive from a starting-point differing from that usually adopted by the writers of earlier handbooks. And in theological construction, as in other spheres of intellectual interest, the method of approach determines the resultant system. Dr. Hughes begins with religion—and with religion as a universal human experience—because religion as an experience always goes before the interpretation of it, which is the function of theology. To be effective and authoritative, theology must be kept in close touch with life. The Christian experience not only creates Christian theology, but is constantly criticizing, challenging, and changing its expression, in order that the validity of its

judgements may be verified afresh. Starting with the contents of the Christian consciousness, the theologian starts from facts. The method is inductive rather than deductive. These facts, interpreted as a living whole, and each articulated in its appropriate doctrinal relation with the other, grow into an organic theological system that contains within itself its own credentials.

This apologetic value of Christian experience sustains the final court of appeal to which Dr. Hughes constantly refers. He finds, of course, its most perfect record in Holy Scripture interpreted in harmony with the mind of Christ and under the immediate guidance of His Spirit. The Bible depends for its continued authority upon the verification of the Christian consciousness—individual and collective—of each succeeding generation of Christian believers. It is this ultimate reality of an immediate experience of the Divine in self-revealing and redemptive activity within the human spirit that constitutes divine revelation. And the claim for inspiration is not sustained, in the first place, by any series of rational and historical credentials, though these have their place, but by the power of the Bible to renew in every age those redemptive experiences of which it is the highest record. The same kind of certitude through immediate divine self-revelation is the proof, as Dr. Hughes points out, of the existence of God which the familiar fourfold argument for the divine existence confirms, but is not competent to discover.

With such a point of departure, it is natural that Dr. Hughes should insist upon the necessity of a method of using Holy Scripture for purposes of theological construction which differs radically from the traditional 'proof-text' method. The Christian scriptures are still the authority for Christian doctrine. But their distinctively Christian element must be the standard. Christ is Lord of the scripture as well as of the sabbath. The Christian theologian can only use the Bible as a progressive revelation, in which stages of enlightenment concerning the redemptive purpose and activity of God are perfected in the teaching and work of Christ. He is not at liberty to use every part of the Bible at will as of equal value for Christian theology. This position is so important that we wish Dr. Hughes could have given more space to its exposition, even at the expense of lengthening his book. For, once this principle of construction becomes, for the beginner in theological study, an accepted and acceptable position, much that is fresh and arresting in the author's presentation of individual doctrines follows more or less of necessity. It is this newer mode of approach to Christian doctrine, familiar now to more instructed teachers, which may lead many of his readers to regard Dr. Hughes's manual as possessing the character of a manifesto regarding methods of Bible study for theological purposes. These students, however, will quickly discover that, with many and important changes of accent and aspect, Dr. Hughes's exposition of evangelical truth rings true to the Methodist spirit. The theology set forth is still 'the theology of the warmed heart.' It is in close touch with the reality of the evangel of the grace

of God. It is preachable doctrine. Its accent, carried by local preachers into Methodist pulpits in town and village, would sound with a note of arrest, with a sense of reality and conviction which, it is said, are at times lacking in the evangelical message. This quality might be illustrated by Dr. Hughes's treatment of the Christian doctrine of sin. It is a commonplace in evangelical circles that a sense of sin is to-day strangely lacking. Although the concrete fact of sin is acknowledged, men are not concerned with its exceeding sinfulness. Current theories—physical, psychological, social—in explaining it easily tend to explain it away. Racial and individual sin, guilt and heredity, freedom and determinism, are frequently confused in an ethical complex for which the doctrine of Original Sin, as usually stated, offers little or no release. No evangelical doctrine is more in need of re-statement and of reinforcing with sure ethical touch and keen spiritual insight in modern theological thought. Dr. Hughes deals with the subject frankly and with courage. And, whilst offering no solution of the problems involved, he does offer helpful suggestions for the evangelical preacher. And these may tend to relieve the pressure of some of its difficulties in the light of changed conceptions of the history and development of human nature. This is particularly so where some traditional assumptions and fictions had left the doctrine in a realm of theological unreality for present-day thinkers.

Turning from the doctrine of sin, the evangelical mind will look with some wistfulness to the writer's method of dealing with the ministry of the Holy Spirit. This also is a difficult doctrine to state. And yet the theology of the Holy Spirit is a synonym for the theology of Methodism, as, indeed, it is for the evangelical faith. Possibly the order in his system in which Dr. Hughes sets out his interpretation of the doctrine of the Spirit is a point at which some thoughtful readers may feel least inclined to follow him. And, as it is a point of importance in adjusting 'catholic' and 'evangelical' tendencies in theology, it is worthy of a moment's consideration. *Before* he expounds the gracious offices of the Holy Spirit in His redeeming and sanctifying work in the individual soul, he deals with the place and work of the Holy Spirit within the Church—almost, indeed, as a part of the doctrine of the Church and the sacraments. Many distinguished teachers would, of course, sustain him in this sequence. But is it the true evangelical sequence? It raises many questions. These may seem delicate adjustments, but they may mean much in the presence of ecclesiastical situations and controversies of to-day. Does this order find verification in personal experiences of the Holy Spirit's grace? Does it give the value it deserves to the distinctive Methodist emphasis upon prevenient grace? Is it in harmony with the wide and enriching implications of the teaching on Divine Immanence? Does it imply preference for the authority of 'Institutional Religion' rather than for that of the 'Religion of the Spirit'? Does it sustain the 'catholic' rather than the 'evangelical' conception of the doctrine of grace? These are not easy questions to

answer, but they touch vital differences. Whilst the evangelical theologian confesses that the Holy Spirit works most effectively with the Christian revelation and within the Christian community, he wisely suspects any implication, however slight, that the Church is the sole sphere of His operation, the depository and dispenser of His grace and gifts. Dr. Hughes is too loyal an 'evangelical' to have the most remote sympathy with 'catholic' teachers—Roman or Anglican—who assert, 'The Catholic Church is the home of the Holy Ghost; it is His only earthly home. He does not make his home with any dissenting sect. . . . He goes and visits them, perhaps, but only as a stranger' (Gace, *A Book for the Children of God*). This loyalty, indeed, is abundantly demonstrated in his fine chapter on 'The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Individual,' which follows his chapter on 'The Church.' For many reasons we should prefer a reversal in the order in which the chapters are placed.

For the book as a whole we are more than grateful to Dr. Hughes. We admire his strength and sanity of judgement, his courage not less than his reverent reserve. Whilst his treatment is biblical rather than philosophical or psychological, there is constant evidence of ample knowledge of the critical, historical, and scientific problems that modern evangelical teachers must reckon with. He never forgets the constituency he has been chosen to serve. He knows their needs. He has the teacher's gift. He knows what to leave out. We congratulate those local preachers—and especially those candidates for the ministry—who will be initiated by his spirit and teaching into their earliest reverence for 'the Queen of Sciences.' They are happy indeed who, as students, learn from a teacher whose teaching leaves little to unlearn when larger knowledge and riper experience have enriched their thinking. FREDERIC PLATT.

BIRTHDAY TRIBUTES TO DR. DEISSMANN

It is a pleasant German custom to celebrate the birthday of a professor by publishing a festival-volume in his honour.¹ As a rule the seventieth year is thus distinguished. But the friends, colleagues, and former pupils of Dr. Adolf Deissmann chose the sixtieth anniversary of his birth for the presentation of their literary congratulations. Moreover, Dr. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, of Jena, in a brief Introduction, asks Dr. Deissmann to regard this volume as only an earnest of that which his fellow workers hope to offer for his acceptance at the close of the decade upon which he has just entered.

To the international influence of Dr. Deissmann witness is borne by the presence of four essays in the English language; one Scottish, one English, and two American scholars unite in this tribute of esteem. Dr. George Milligan describes 'An Early Scottish Lexicon of the Greek New Testament.' In 1584 the study of Greek was introduced into Scotland, and in 1658 Andrew Symson published *A Lexicon of the New Testament in Greek*, 'a marvel for the time when

¹ *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1927. M. 18).

it was produced,' and amply justifying its author's statement: 'Not a few candles have been spent about the composing thereof, and throughout the whole time of the work there was *nulla dies (nulla nox) sine linea*.' Dr. Rendel Harris contributes an interesting paper on a subject upon which he has expert knowledge: 'On the Trial of Marcion.' Harnack's recent book on Marcion is highly praised, and the thesis is illustrated that 'there is a wide diffusion of Marcionite matter in the ecclesiastical writings both of the East and of the West.'

Dr. A. T. Robertson, of Louisville, writes on 'New Testament Greek after Thirty Years.' He dwells on the epoch-making publication of the *Bibelstudien* in 1895, which 'called the attention of scholars to the new view of the Greek New Testament as not being a peculiar biblical Greek, a sort of pious jargon—this being the view of Hebraists in opposition to the notion of the Purists that it was classical Attic of necessity.' (A copy of this work, greatly prized, was given to the present writer from the library of his revered tutor, Dr. W. F. Moulton.) High appreciation is expressed of the work of Dr. James Hope Moulton, who 'carried the discovery of Deissmann further into the sphere of grammar,' and grateful reference is made to the ability with which Professor Wilbert F. Howard is continuing the work for which 'he has shown that he is competent,' namely, 'to carry through the syntax on Moulton's plan.' Dr. Benjamin W. Robinson, of Chicago, writes an article on 'Influences leading toward the Conversion of Paul.' It is a study in social environment, suggesting that Stoicism and Judaism were brought together in Paul's experience 'through the crystallizing influence of the Christian teaching.'

Dr. Ulrich Wileken, of Berlin, recalls the mutual enjoyment which Dr. Deissmann and he found in reading Lucian's *De dea Syria*. The gift he brings, therefore, consists of a summary of what he has learnt about 'Syrian Divinities' from a papyrus in the library of the University of Freiburg. It gives evidence of the spread of their worship, and this is considered as part of the historical process which led to the penetration of the Graeco-Roman world by the Oriental religions, then to their conflict one with another, and ultimately to the victory of Christianity. Proof of the spread of Syrian worship in Egypt is given, especially in the village of Philadelphia in the Faiyum. In confirmation of Dr. Deissmann's views about New Testament Greek it is noted that the usage of the Freiburg papyrus agrees with that of the New Testament in that the reckoning of the night-watches is not military. That Phrygian as well as Syrian goddesses were worshipped in Egypt is evident, but in both cases the worshippers were Greeks, for the Egyptians, like Orientals in general, tenaciously clung to their native deities, and the foreign gods gained no proselytes among them.

Dr. Wilhelm Weber, of Halle-Wittenberg, was Dr. Deissmann's travelling-companion in the Near East. When visiting the valley of the Orontes they agreed in regretting that modern explorers had

neglected the site of the ancient imperial city of Antioch, often visited by St. Paul. It was then laid upon Dr. Weber's mind to turn to the writings of the Antiochean historian, Malalas; hence the title of his essay: 'Studies in the Chronicle of Malalas.' Dr. Weber found it needful to distinguish between the gold and the stones in the narrative, but he is of opinion that the evidence of Malalas confirms the reaction in favour of the Acts of the Apostles, which began with the work of Harnack and Edward Meyer. It is impossible here to enter into details. The 'Chronicle' is described as 'patchwork,' yet 'we are indebted to his ignorance, his craze for copying, and his local patriotism for excellent material. It is widely scattered, but the labour of sifting the wheat from the chaff has its due reward.'

By giving the title '*Lana satura*' to his philological contribution, Dr. Pfister, of Würzburg, indicates that it is the offering of a plate of fruit to Dr. Deissmann on his *dies natalis*. In the first part of the article attention is called to popular expressions common to both the Greek and Latin languages, Dr. Pfister being of opinion that, for the understanding of New Testament Greek, more notice should be taken of colloquial Latin. The second part of the article consists of a linguistic study of the word *ἀσκησις*, which is not found in the New Testament, though it has played an important part in the history of the Christian religion. The derivation of the word is unknown, but as first used by Thucydides it signifies 'practice and preparation for something which is regarded as an ideal, something worth striving for.'

In ancient literature this ideal was fourfold. 1. In Homer, and until the fifth century, it was 'the ideal of bodily vigour' as exemplified in the warrior and the athlete. 2. In the sixth century 'the ideal of wisdom' was emphasized by the Ionic school of philosophy, and *ἀσκησις* meant discipline and education of the mind. 3. Among the Sophists 'the ideal acquired an ethical content.' The Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, taught that *ἀσκησις* had value only when it helped towards the attainment of a moral aim; it must be 'discipline of the will.' 4. Later 'the ideal became religious,' and *ἀσκησις* connoted 'exercise unto godliness.' Amongst the Pythagoreans the ideal was expressed as 'following God,' and the way thereto was *ἀσκησις*.

In Acts xxiv. 16 the verb *ἀσκέω* has 'an ethical meaning with a religious tinge,' and its synonym, *γυμνάζω*, is found in 1 Timothy iv. 7. Dr. Pfister sums up an illuminating study—of which only a bare outline has been given—by saying that what 'we call *ἀσκησις*,' namely, 'painful discipline for a religious end,' was also known to the ancient Greeks, though it never manifested itself in such degenerate forms as among Christian monks and Indian fakirs. But even their practices might be called *ἀσκησις*, for the meaning of the word developed, it gradually passing from an active to a passive significance. The Cynics first gave to the word the meaning of 'painful discipline for the attainment of an ideal.'

There are other essays in this interesting volume which well

deserve the attention of New Testament students who read German. Appreciation of Dr. Deissmann's labours to promote mutual understanding and goodwill among the Churches and nations is expressed in the closing article, on 'Evangelical Catholicity,' by the Archbishop of Upsala. Dr. Söderblom holds that, after Stockholm, 'the question of unity amid diversity in the Church of Christ can no longer be forgotten or suppressed.' By 'the higher way of love,' he cherishes the hope that unity will be attained.

J. G. TASKER.

GERBERT: SCHOLAR AND PONTIFF

THE tenth century is a very obscure period of history. It is exceedingly difficult to find any governing principle in life. Motives and purposes are obscure. Kings and barons move about like dim figures in a cloud of intrigue. Life seems restless and wild, and the lot of the non-feudal man is very hard. The feudal system, the result of the breakdown of the old Roman order, barely holds society together by some rough code of loyalty. The world is in process of disintegration, and there is constant war.

Certain kings, like Lothaire of France (954-86), possess spirit; certain prelates, like Bruno of Cologne, are not without dignity; whilst in Maiolus, Abbot of Cluny, the century produces a real saint. But the days are evil, and the characters in the play bewildering in their changing attitudes. In this obscure period there stands forth the figure of Gerbert, so little understood in the Middle Ages that he was regarded as a magician, so little understood by the modern world that he has been regarded by some as a charlatan or impostor, by others as a great thinker and reformer. He is a lonely figure, so unlike his contemporaries. Yet in his Letters he appears in flesh and blood, not altogether without significance for the modern world, which in some ways he anticipates.

Our knowledge of Gerbert is largely derived from his Letters, which have been well edited by M. Havet. In Migne (189) we have a collection of his works, such as his edition of *The Acts of the Council of St. Basil*, a book on episcopal duties, studies in geometry, arithmetic, and logic, and addresses which he delivered to various councils. An anonymous work on the Sacraments has been attributed to him, but, though the style and material used would not rule out Gerbert's authorship, modern scholarship remains critical as to it. Richer, who studied in his school at Rheims, gives many interesting details of his master's life and work in his history of the times, whilst many eleventh-century writers refer to Gerbert's reputation as a scholar.

The story of his life can soon be told. He was probably born in Aquitaine about A.D. 940, of poor parentage. He seems to have passed as a child, through the charity of the Church, into the monastic school at Aurillac, where he would receive free education. The abbot's name was Gerard and one Raymond was his master. Count Borell of Barcelona, visiting Aurillac as a pilgrim, took Gerbert back with him to Spain at the request of the abbot, who had already

learnt to appreciate the youth's passion for knowledge. In Spain, under Bishop Hatto, Gerbert studied mathematics, which may have been introduced into Spain through Arabian channels. In 970, Borell took Bishop Hatto and Gerbert with him to Rome, where he had business with the Pope concerning the bishopric of Vich. The young scholar was introduced by the Pope to the Emperor Otho I. He expressed a desire to study philosophy. The opportunity was soon provided. Gerannus, Archdeacon of Rheims, with a reputation as a philosopher, happened at this time to visit Rome, and Gerbert returned with him to Rheims. In this city he taught mathematics, and was himself instructed in philosophy. The Archbishop Adalberon, hearing of the young scholar's attainments, appointed him scholasticus of the episcopal school of Rheims, which position he held from A.D. 972-82. These were perhaps his happiest years. Numerous students gathered round him, and he taught grammar and rhetoric from the Latin classics, geometry, arithmetic, and philosophy. In 980 he visited Rome, and took part in a public debate, in the presence of the Emperor Otho II, with a scholar called Otric. The emperor presented him with the Abbey of Bobbio, in north Italy, for the possession of which he took an oath of loyalty to the emperor, which he ever afterwards regarded as binding. The wildness of the monks repelled him, and, after a year of misery, he returned to Rheims in 984. Here he entered deeply into the conspiracy which led to the overthrow of the Carolings and the election of the Capetians in 987. His sympathies were with Otho and the German Empire, as were also the sympathies of the Archbishop Adalberon, who belonged to a Lorraine family. Lothaire quarrelled with the Empire over the possession of Lorraine, Alsace, and the Saar Valley. Gerbert, though scholasticus of Rheims, worked secretly in the interests of the emperor, and supported Hugh Capet, a powerful feudal chief at that time, as a candidate for the French crown, because Hugh showed himself friendly to the Empire. After the death of Archbishop Adalberon, Gerbert expected the reversion of the See of Rheims, but Hugh had been challenged by Charles, a brother of Lothaire, and, in order to divide the Caroling interest, he gave the See to Arnulf, a natural son of Lothaire. This youth soon broke his oath of loyalty to Hugh, and was found in the service of Charles, to whom it was alleged he had betrayed Rheims. Captured by Hugh through the treachery of Asceline, Bishop of Laon, Arnulf was put on his trial for treason at the Council of St. Basil, 991, and deposed. Gerbert was then elected Archbishop of Rheims, but the papal consent had not been obtained, and a long controversy followed. The question was whether the bishops of France could depose an archbishop and appoint a new one without the consent of Rome. The papal party appealed to certain decretals now known to have been forged in the ninth century. Gerbert appealed to the earlier customs of the Church, and found useful precedents in certain African and Gallican councils, whilst he also carried the appeal farther—to the Great Councils and to the 'apostolic

and prophetic writings.' The Papacy, however, triumphed, and Arnulf was reinstated. Gerbert retired from France to Germany. He was made Archbishop of Ravenna on the nomination of Otho III, and later on attained the papal throne by the same nomination. As Sylvester II he maintained close friendship with Otho III. He died in 1003, after confirming the position of Arnulf, his rival in Rheims.

The life of Gerbert foreshadows in many respects the modern world, whilst illustrating noble aspects of mediaeval thought and feeling.

I. We note his passion for knowledge. He is not haunted by demons. Comets as signs of disaster do not worry him. Relics, dreams, &c., do not figure largely in his correspondence, and he is curiously free from the degrading superstitions of his time. His own letters and Richer's history show the extent of his reading. He studied Latin classics—Horace, Perseus, Terence, Cicero, &c., knew certain works of Aristotle in Latin translations, and at least the *Timaeus* of Plato. We find in his Letters reference to books on the multiplication table, astrology, medicine, history, law. He possessed a library of his own, and was constantly borrowing and buying books. He constructed an organ and knew something of music. He studied the stars and noted the various constellations on a sphere. He made an abacus for reckoning, and worked out his own system of arithmetic and geometry. He had an extensive knowledge of Church history and canon law, and his mind was alert enough for the subtleties of mediaeval dialectics. He was very tolerant, curiously unhampered by theological prejudices or superstitious fears. He often speaks of the 'Divinity' which guides. There is a conception of order, law. Life is not demonic or an anarchy, but it is God's own world, where law can be traced by reverent and believing minds.

There is something very attractive in this rather lonely figure living from time to time in his world of books, retiring into it for consolation from the tumult and passion of the feudal world. Knowledge was loved for its own sake, but he loved it for its practical value. Geometry was closely related to land surveying; rhetoric was needed in the courts; and philosophy should produce the even temper of the harmonized and well-balanced life. He may not have made a great original contribution to learning, but he amassed great stores of information, revived the studies of the past, and prepared for advance in the future. Let it never be forgotten that he acquired this knowledge, in the first place, through the opportunities of a monastic school, and handed it over to others by means of an episcopal school. The Church was the teacher of the world in the mediaeval period.

II. Gerbert was undoubtedly a poor boy of plebeian stock and obscure parentage. Yet he rose to be Pope Sylvester II, teacher of kings and princes and close friend of emperors. This is a significant fact in relation to the growth of democratic sentiment. 'From a dunghill God hath raised me,' he says. He had no advantages of birth and ancestry, but in the Church the boy of poor parents found his opportunity. The Church gave him free nourishment and

education, a sense of vocation, and the chance of rising into a position of influence. In the Church, children of royalty and peasantry could associate in one common purpose and task, and pride of birth and privilege of social status could yield to the achievements of character and genius. The mediaeval Church was never quite feudalized, and it saved the world from complete feudalism because it possessed in the Bible the story of the Divine Carpenter and, in some imperfect way, discovered the value of personality there.

III. Amid all the intrigues of his political life, there is a thread of consistency in Gerbert's witness. He was always friendly to the Othos. As scholasticus of Rheims, in the kingdom of Lothaire of France, he was in a difficult position. Perhaps he ought to have resigned and retired to Germany. He remained in Rheims and corresponded with his country's foes. We can sympathize with Lothaire and yet appreciate the ideals of Gerbert. His love for Otho III was not just a preference of Germany to France. To him Otho was Caesar, and his empire Roman, and Rome represented a tradition of order, unity, peace, in that broken feudal age. It was not merely Roman imperialism which attracted him, but a Holy Roman Empire and world order, based on Christian teaching and example, by which the State, represented by Otho III, and the Church, represented by Gerbert, were to lift the world above the feudal frenzies and national feuds to some life of international well-being and fellowship.

Perhaps those few years in which Otho III and Sylvester II ruled together as Emperor and Pope were the only years in which the Holy Roman Empire really functioned. They were brief years, yet they set before the world a great ideal—neither the first nor the last endeavour to find some outer expression for the unity and fellowship of mankind, and to discover some ethical and religious basis for world politics. Gerbert believed that the world before the Fall was a world where all men were equal. With the Fall came selfishness, the necessity of force, private property, slavery, coercive jurisdiction; and this new world order, Roman and Christian, was God's way of bringing the world back to the condition lost when men fell into selfishness and lost love. His mind was imperialistic, but his imperialism was internationalism, and his Empire was to be a world order of service fundamentally Christian.

IV. Now, this belief in a world order went alongside a belief in individual liberty and judgement. In his opposition to the injustice, ignorance, and immorality of Rome his protests bordered on Protestantism. There is an appeal to mind and conscience. If the Pope does wrong, he must be counted as publican or sinner. No words of a Pope can make wrong right. Excommunication not sanctioned in heaven is useless on earth. If Rome will not speak, then the Church must act without Rome.

There were contradictions both in Gerbert's life and thought, but he got glimpses of great ideals, and in some small way tried to realize them.

DOUGLAS W. LOWIS.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Sacramental Society. The Fernley Lecture, 1927. By C. Ryder Smith, D.D. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.)

DR. RYDER SMITH has chosen a timely theme for the Fernley Lecture of 1927—the Church and the Sacraments. He has thought his own way through the subject, with the result that he has produced a most suggestive volume. The method which he pursues is the 'psychological' or 'analogical.' 'It treats the theological problem as an example of the wider problem of the relations between the spiritual and the material in the whole of human life, and asks what light is thereby shed upon it.' The lecturer holds that no society can exist without symbols, because societies live by fellowship, and symbols are the universal medium of fellowship. But no particular symbol is essential to any society. A distinction is drawn between the terms 'essential' and 'obligatory' (which introduces the idea of authority). A society has the right to select its own symbols, and, when they are selected, it is obligatory on its members to observe them. In a healthy society the use of a symbol may feed or nourish the experience that expresses it. The kiss, for instance, not only expresses love, but nourishes it. But, on the other hand, in an unhealthy society the symbol may be so divorced from the mental or spiritual experience that it no longer either expresses or nourishes the latter. In such a case the symbol is no longer *effective*. It is spiritual experience that gives validity to symbols, and not vice versa. When he comes to apply these preliminary considerations to the Christian sacraments, Dr. Smith uses the term 'sacerdotal' to cover the view that without the use of particular material media there is no guarantee of spiritual experience in the Church, and the term 'sacramental' to cover the view that while it is beneficial and inevitable that the Church should use material symbols, no particular symbol is essential or indispensable. Our Lord taught His disciples to use the Sacrament of Baptism, and He instituted the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These two sacraments are unique, as there is no evidence that our Lord appointed any other ritual. They are obligatory, on all Christians, but the distinction drawn between 'obligatory' and 'essential' must be borne in mind. They are obligatory but not essential. Infant Baptism expresses for the parents and the Church a vow and pledge of ministry, and, in expressing, nourishes and deepens the experience of love which underlies them. As to the child, Baptism marks the beginning of a fellowship with God, a fellowship which can only be completed when he reaches an age of discretion. That which is distinctive in the Eucharist is that it is a direct assertion and renewal

of fellowship with Christ. The Eucharist is what the kiss is in the fellowship of the home. It is not simply an expression of fellowship; it nourishes fellowship. Dr. Smith has some suggestive things to say about membership, inter-communion, and reunion. While he holds that, in Christian lands, baptism should be administered to infants, if there is a reasonable guarantee that the Church will fulfil the responsibilities which it undertakes, yet he would not deny admission to the Church to any who hold that our Lord did not Himself authorize baptism. 'The essential admits of no exceptions, but the obligatory may.' For like reasons attendance at the Lord's Supper should not be made compulsory on Church members, so long as they show by some ritual or symbol that they belong to the Church universal. We may venture the opinion that the Lecture is not quite logical here. If sacraments are not obligatory on all Church members, why call the Church 'the Sacramental Society'? But he may fairly retort that life is more than logic. Our space is exhausted, but it must be said that Dr. Ryder Smith has rendered an invaluable service, not to Methodism alone, but to the cause of evangelical religion. His lucid and thought-provoking treatment of the subject will open out new avenues of thought and vision to many readers, and will, we hope, give to 'Catholics' a new understanding of evangelical teaching. It should be added that the volume is written in an eirenic temper. The treatment of the subject is positive and constructive, never controversial, in the party sense of the word.

The Legacy of Israel. Planned by the late I. Abrahams and edited by Edwyn R. Bevan and Charles Singer. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. net.)

It is no small gain to see how much human thought has drawn from Judaism and the Jewish view of the world. It is a legacy far greater than we owe to Greece or Rome, and Dr. Abrahams had a congenial task when he planned this volume with his colleague, Dr. Bevan. After his death, in October 1925, Dr. Singer joined Dr. Bevan in the editorship, and has been mainly responsible for the illustrations which form an integral part of the work. The Master of Balliol points out in his Prologue that the essays by Principal Adam Smith, Professor Burkitt, and Dr. Selbie deal with what may strictly be described as the legacy, whilst the other writers describe gifts which a living community has in the past given to civilization. Dr. Lindsay illustrates the greatness of Jewish thought from the Book of Job and the ethic of Spinoza, which are ready to face every fact and to inquire into everything. Each is also inspired by an intense moral earnestness, and above all by a deep sense of reverence for the omnipotence and the infinity of God. In the Book of Job, as Sir George Adam Smith shows, Hebrew poetry soars to its highest glory, scattering on its flight its richest treasures of reflection and music. The religious genius of Israel is there liberated from all national limits and prejudices. The most obvious quality of the Psalms is their whole-heartedness, their natural, untamed, and unstinted

expression of all that is in the heart of man. Dr. Bevan's subject is Hellenistic Judaism. Alexandria, with its idolatrous pomps and impious gaities, its university and its library, had a powerful influence on its Jewish residents. When Philo gave the mystical experience its place in religion, his affinity was rather with Plato than with the Old Testament. Soon after Christianity had begun to spread in the Roman Empire, Hellenistic Judaism faded away. Professor Burkitt points out what Christianity owes to Rabbinical Judaism for the gradual recovery of a better text and a more scientific interpretation of the Old Testament. The Rev. Travers Herford describes the influence of Judaism on Jews, from Hillel to Mendelssohn. Perhaps the most important function of Israel has been that he has borne unshaken witness, at the cost of life and death, to the truth committed to him. The debt of Islam to Judaism is clearly brought out by Professor Guillaume, of Durham. Dr. and Mrs. Singer show the Jewish factor in mediaeval thought. Jewish philosophy culminates in Maimonides, and a careful account is given of his teaching and of the transmission and reception of Jewish thought in the various countries of Europe. Dr. Singer also gives an account of Hebrew scholarship among Latin Christians in the Middle Ages. It was excessively rare, for at that period languages were never acquired save by the spoken word. The remarkable revival of such studies in and after the Reformation is shown in the essay by Dr. Box, who follows his sketch of Kennicott and Lowth by a tribute to Dr. Abrahams, the greatest Jewish scholar that this country has produced. Professor Isaacs deals with the influence on Western Law, and Dr. Selbie with the influence on Puritanism. To the Puritans the legacy of Judaism was a real inspiration, which they have handed down in an intensity of religious devotion and a passion of moral fervour for which the whole world is still in their debt. Dr. Roth's essay leads up to the conclusion that 'whatever idea of the spiritual has reached the masses of the European peoples is due to the Jewish view of the character of supreme reality.' Professor Meillet shows what European languages owe to Bible words, and Mr. Laurie Magnus brings out in an interesting essay the legacy in modern literature. The Epilogue is fittingly given by Dr. Montefiore. He writes as one who regards himself as a Jew only by reason of his religion. If there were a religious revival among the Jews, which would save them from indifferentism and atheism, they would be a great force on the side of theism. The book is one of unusual interest, and the three *Legacy* volumes are a rich addition to the treasures we owe to the Oxford University Press.

An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament. By A. H. McNeile. (Oxford University Press. 18s. net.)

The aim of this volume is to give those who are not expert students a clear idea of the conclusions arrived at by scholars as to the date, authorship, and problems raised by the various books of the New Testament. Dr. McNeile begins with the Synoptic Gospels and the

Synoptic Problem, studies the Pauline Epistles under three groups, gives a separate chapter to 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, and, after a discussion of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles of St. John, devotes three chapters to the Growth of the New Testament Canon, Textual Criticism, Inspiration, and Value. Mark is dated shortly before A.D. 70, and the theory of its dependence on Q 'is due to a too hard and fast conception of the literary growth of the Gospels, and is improbable, or at least not proved.' If St. Luke compiled the Acts several years after St. Paul's death, the great majority of the phenomena which it presents are adequately explained, room being left for small additions and alterations. Sir William Ramsay's researches have made the correctness of a large number of details in matters of archaeology, geography, and local politics increasingly evident. 'But correct details are only the outward framework of the record. The historical value of the book as a whole lies, not in the verbal authenticity of its speeches, or the accuracy of the words or actions of the persons in the drama, or the exhaustiveness of its contents, but in the general picture which the author gives of the Christianity of the time, with its endowment of spiritual enthusiasm, the conditions under which it struggled, and its rapid advance from Jerusalem through a large part of the empire to Rome.' The discussion of the Thessalonian Epistles shows that to doubt the genuineness of the Second Epistle raises difficulties as great as those which it solves. The trend of opinion in recent years has been setting towards South Galatia as the place to which that Epistle was sent. Some writers regard it as the first of St. Paul's letters, but the question is by no means settled. Dr. McNeile thinks the Pastoral Epistles contain some original Pauline fragments incorporated by a disciple. 'These seem to form a larger portion of 2 Timothy than of the others, and to consist for the most part of personal allusions.' None of the guesses as to the authorship of Hebrews has the least intrinsic merit, and we must be content, as Origen was, to leave it anonymous. The Apocalypse, Dr. McNeile concludes, could not have been written by any immediate associate of Jesus. 'The writer was a prophet, as he claims himself (i. 3; xxii. 9), and evidently a Palestinian who had lived in Asia, to which he could write with the spiritual authority which prophets could always exercise in the first century.' The authorship of the Fourth Gospel has long been a chief battle-ground of New Testament criticism. Dr. McNeile evidently leans to the tradition of St. John's martyrdom, but his treatment of the subject is far from decisive. We miss Dr. Scott Holland's book on St. John from the list at the end of the chapter. The discussions of the canon and of textual criticism will be very helpful, and the closing study of the inspiration of the Bible points out that every book is different. 'Some of the writers are more spiritual, more profoundly inspired, than others, and in parts of the books more than in other parts. But their authority on the things of God, which the test of centuries has only enhanced, ranks higher for us than that of any other writers in the world. The New Testament is a collection of masterpieces

of spiritual music. Its authority is that of spiritual experts, and we treat it as we should treat the authority of any supreme expert on his subject.' A book like this has been loudly called for, and Dr. McNeile shows, not only ample knowledge, but a wise reserve in his judgements, and so carefully presents the various conclusions reached by experts that a reader is helped to form his own opinion on many points.

Conscience and its Problems. An Introduction to Casuistry.

By Kenneth E. Kirk. (Longmans & Co. 16s. net.)

Dr. Kirk feels the need of reaching some measure of unanimity on the subordinate principles or detailed problems of Christian morality, and has now followed his earlier volumes on *Some Principles of Moral Theology* and *Ignorance, Faith, and Uniformity* by this contribution to a branch of theology which has been much neglected during the last two centuries. He deals with the duties, privileges, limitations, and dangers of conscience; with the deference which loyalty demands that it should pay to authority. He then considers the nature and history of casuistry, and shows the stages by which Christian experience evolved sound principles of dealing with the problems caused by this interaction of conscience and loyalty. The last three chapters study these problems under the main headings of Error, Doubt, and Perplexity. It is dangerous to regard conscience as an independent agent. 'Conscience is myself in so far as I am a moral man; and the problems of conscience are simply the problems which the moral man has to solve in a moral way—using the reason which God has given him to discover the path of duty through the obscurities which conceal it from view.' The great recurring problem of traditional moral theology is the question of the 'unjust command.' On the one hand stands loyalty, with the demand for obedience; on the other is some circumstance which makes conscience itself hesitate to agree. The chapters given to Casuistry and Casuistry and the Gospels are profoundly interesting, and lead up to a consideration of problems from the point of view of the troubled conscience itself. Dr. Kirk begins his problems with 'conscientious Nonconformity.' An invincible conscience must always be obeyed, even though it points in a direction wholly condemned by the Church. The Church has a right to say within what limits she will tolerate conscientious divergence, and to remove from Communion those who refuse conformity to them. Such subjects as birth-control, betting, and gambling are carefully handled, and some important pages are given to problems of truthfulness and commercial honesty. The whole subject is handled with discrimination and practical insight, and the book is eminently readable from beginning to end.

The 'De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate' of William of Ockham. Edited by C. Kenneth Brampton, M.A., B.Litt. (Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

This hitherto unpublished work of Ockham has been edited with rare skill and patience from the unique MS. in the British Museum,

and other MSS. of Ockham and his contemporaries at Bâle, Munich, Vienna, Erfurt, Brunswick, Bremen, and Paris have been examined to throw light upon it. It was written in 1346 or early in 1347, and deals with the age-long question of authority. The Protestants who first accepted that title on their return from Trent pointed out Ockham, with Marsilius of Padua, as the earliest formulator of their ideas. He deals at length with the relations between Church and State, with the rights of Governments and the management of ecclesiastical organizations. 'Attacking the established system of his time with at least the candour of Tacitus and something more than the courage of Juvenal, he directed his efforts along the lines of development that lead directly to the invisible world. He used his intellect in the defence of freedom, and in the exercise of his powers won his way through a mass of externals to an underlying principle of religion, which, once grasped, will affect all our ideas of ethics, of education, and even of democracy itself.' He maintains that, in all matters of conduct and belief, authority must remain the guide and not the governor, of the intellect. Ockham lived four years with a pope and eighteen with an emperor. After escaping from prison at Avignon, he tramped across North Italy with a defeated army into Germany. He was a minorite by profession, a scientist by nature, and a theologian by constraint. His main object in life was to follow the example of his master, St. Francis. He drew his inspiration from the experimental science of Roger Bacon, and filled his Oxford thesis on the 'sentences' of Peter Lombard with thoughts at variance with the prejudices of his time. In 1324 he was hurried off to the papal palace at Avignon, from which he, and two distinguished Franciscans who were his fellow prisoners, escaped in May 1328 to the imperial army of Lewis of Bavaria at Pisa. John XXII made no secret of his chagrin. They were to be hunted down and brought to Avignon. By December 1329 they were safe in Munich, where Ockham was supported in his writings by an emperor who year by year was condemned for harbouring a heretic so repugnant to the Holy See. He showed that, by the abuse of excommunication, Catholics were condemned to the status of heretics, the innocent calumniated, good men driven from their benefices to make room for unworthy successors, lawful oaths relaxed, subjects relieved of their allegiance to their princes, and the binding links of human society loosened and destroyed. He insists on his sincere purpose to help both the Pope and the faithful by showing how far the powers of the one and the rights of the other extended. The Papacy, he maintained, had become a tyranny, whose claim that all power in heaven and earth had been given to it was a fallacy. The real point at issue between Ockham and the Papacy was his denial, in this tract, of the claim that the successor of St. Peter was ultimately the sole authority capable of interpreting Christian revelation. The Latin treatise in which he states his position has been lying in MS. for 580 years, and proves that he was 'a philosopher of the light.' The Introduction and the extended Notes set the work in its contemporary environment

and make us wonder at the sagacity and the fearlessness of one whom an admiring posterity has styled the 'invincible doctor.'

God's Message: Sermons and Addresses. By George G. Findlay, M.A., D.D. Edited, with a Biographical Sketch, by his daughter Mary G. Findlay, M.Sc. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.)

Dr. Findlay's life as a Methodist preacher was divided between Richmond and Headingley Colleges. His father entered the ministry from a fishing village on the Banffshire coast; his mother came from a Yorkshire farm. Their eldest son won the B.A. scholarship in classics at London University in his nineteenth year, and his interests in literature, philosophy, and poetry were deep and lifelong. His work on the Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, his three small volumes on *The Books of the Prophets in their Historical Succession*, mark him out as one of the foremost biblical students of his time. The history of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, of which he completed three volumes and gathered material for the fourth and fifth, will long remain the standard work on the subject. His daughter's sketch shows how much he loved his home and rejoiced to be among his children. What he was to his students many have borne witness. This volume shows how they drew from him in its fullness the expression of the faith by which he lived and in which he died. The sermons and addresses were written and rewritten for college commemorations, Communion Services, Quiet Days, and general pulpit use. They are wonderfully limpid and simple in style, but they are rich in thought and in real scholarship used to make great truths luminous and attractive to devout minds. The companion discourses, 'The Parable of the Lamps' and 'The Parable of the Talents,' are a beautiful pair of studies, full of insight and practical applications to character and work. 'The Religious Basis of Family Life' sets forth the family altar as 'the best guardian of family peace and love, the bond of life's vows, the source of its sweetest memories; it has been the palladium of the English home, the safeguard and the glory of our Protestant Christianity.' The volume is a fitting memorial of a life to which all Bible students are constant debtors.

1. *The New Prayer Book.* (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. net.)
2. *The Prayer Book Revised.* By the Bishop of Winchester. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

1. The eight lectures here brought together were delivered at King's College, London, by representatives of various schools of thought in the Church, and provide, as the Archbishop of Canterbury says in a brief Foreword, 'exactly what English Churchmen ought just now to have in their hands.' They are instructive and reasonable throughout. Even the Warden of Liddon House, in 'An Anglo-Catholic view,' says that, though the acceptance of the book will mean much sacrifice for many Anglo-Catholics, he is altogether out

of sympathy with the policy of opposing its acceptance. The Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones points out certain ways in which old treasures that dropped out of use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been restored, such as the fuller recognition of the Communion of Saints, the renewed emphasis on the union of all souls, living and departed, in Christ, and other features. Canon Storr pleads, as a Liberal Evangelical, for ordered liberty. He says the bishops have carefully safeguarded Reservation, by rubrics, and if they see that the regulations are observed, he holds that Evangelicals ought not to object to Reservation for the sick. To Evelyn Underhill one of the most precious gains is 'the lovely Commendation of the Departing Soul.' Professor Relton, who has edited the essays, deals with 'An Anglican Armistice.' He says we may yet live to be thankful that 'our Fathers in God' have 'in their wisdom allowed us to go so far and no farther.' Dean Matthews points out, 'The new book can be used without qualms by those who have learnt from modern scholarship the great liberating truth of progressive revelation.' There are signs that the long-expected spiritual revival is beginning, and we must get internal controversy out of the way in order to be ready for it.

2. The Bishop of Winchester writes for average men who wish to understand the fresh revision of the Prayer Book both in regard to the facts of the past and the needs of the present. He has found that Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism, in their true interpretation, are not incompatible, but complementary. He describes the present revision at Lambeth, and pays tribute to the perfectly-balanced mind of the chairman, and 'the ability, the knowledge, legal and otherwise, the penetrating sagacity, of his Grace of York.' The chapter on 'Former Revisions' gives clearly and in brief compass the liturgical services of the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559. Dr. Woods then shows the need for amplification and enrichment of service; explains the changes in the Communion Service and in the services which mark 'the great moments of life.' It is a wise and well-balanced exposition, and will be of real service to all who wish to understand the many questions raised by the revision.

The Epworth Press publishes *The Doctrines of Jesus*, by W. H. Batho Gibbon, B.D. (8s. net), which sets forth the fundamental principles of our Lord's teaching as given by the Synoptists. It is grouped under six heads: God the Father, Sin, Righteousness, Salvation, The Kingdom, The Messiah. The truth of the universal Fatherhood of God is the basic fact of the teaching. It extends to all men, and is shown in God's attitude to nature and to the animal world. Sin is disobedience to the Father; humility, trust, and loving obedience to the Father are essentials of righteousness; salvation is a life of fellowship with God, whose kingly rule is to extend over human life. These subjects are handled in a way that will send students to study the Gospels more closely, and they will find our Lord's conception of His Messiahship transforms the whole

Messianic conception and proves Him 'very God of very God.' It is a luminous and careful study of the doctrines of Jesus.—*The Minister among his People*. By W. Deane, M.A., B.D. (3s. 6d. net.) These 'practical hints on pastoral psychology' are based on wide experience as pastor and missionary, and seek to turn fuller attention to the study of human nature as the material on which the pastor works. They give wise counsels as to the way a minister should enter on his charge and the importance of his knowing names and getting into contact with his people. Mr. Deane has much to say about sympathy, patience, and comradeship, and he says it in a way that will stimulate and encourage young preachers. It is a sensible and helpful book.—*The Foundations of our Faith*. (1s.) Twelve cornerstones are here laid by skilled hands, embodying the belief in God, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, and other fundamental truths. They are brief, but they lose neither force nor impressiveness by the condensation. It is a little book that ought to have a very wide circulation.

The Story of Ruth. An Idyll. By R. L. Mégroz. (Elkin Mathews & Marrot. 3s. 6d.) The story of Ruth cast its spell over Mr. Mégroz whilst he was in the British Army in 1918, and he began his poem with only a Bible and a borrowed atlas to help him. He chose blank verse, 'because of its suppleness and adaptability to paragraphed narrative,' and it certainly brings out the beauty of the girl's life, her love of Naomi, her humble days of gleaning, and the happy courtship and marriage. It is a beautiful piece of work, and will make its readers take a keener interest in one of the most charming girls of the Old Testament.—*Worship Training for Juniors*, by Josephine L. Baldwin (Methodist Book Concern, \$1), is a text-book outlined and approved by the International Council of Religious Education. It brings out the value of worship in religious education, and shows the part which the Bible and other literature, and music, vocal and instrumental, ought to take in the worship of the young. One chapter is given to 'The Prayer Life of the Child,' and one feels thankful to find such a volume appearing under the auspices of the International Council.—*A Note on Religion*. By H. Rider Haggard. (Longmans & Co. 1s. net.) This Note formed a chapter in Sir Rider Haggard's *The Days of my Life*, and is reprinted separately in response to many requests. It is refreshing to have such a full-orbed confession of faith in the Bible, in miracles, in prayer, and in immortality, and it will strengthen the faith of others. The writer is strongly inclined to the idea of reincarnation, though he says he has no wish to live again upon the earth, and admits that the doctrine is utterly incapable of proof. The neat booklet will certainly be welcomed, and will do good service. *Gnostic Scriptures Interpreted*, by G. A. Gaskell (C. W. Daniel Coy., 10s. 6d.), attempts to show that 'the Gnostic symbiology conforms to a world-wide system of teaching which has a spiritual origin, and conveys knowledge of the inner evolution of mankind and the nature of the human soul.' It is a book that leaves us wondering.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Volume XV.
General Index. (Cambridge University Press. 25s. net.)

THOSE who find *The Cambridge History of English Literature* one of their chief counsellors on that wide-reaching subject will be really grateful for this General Index. It helps one to find in a moment whatever he wants in the fourteen portly volumes. The fourteenth volume was published in 1916, and the late Mr. H. G. Aldis, Secretary of the University Library, who prepared the indexes of the separate volumes, drew up a scheme for the General Index, which was revised by the General Editors and approved by the Syndics of the Press in March 1918. Before his death in 1919 he had completed an index of the bibliographies of the first eight volumes. At the beginning of 1922 the work was put into the hands of Mr. A. R. Waller, Secretary to the Syndics, assisted by Miss A. D. Greenwood. He was busy with it almost to the last week before his death in July 1922. The task then passed into the hands of Mr. H. S. Bennett, of Emmanuel College, who had the assistance of Mr. H. A. Parsons, of the University Press. The Index opens with a list of the chapters in each volume and the names of contributors, with the subjects on which they have written. Mr. Saintsbury is responsible for twenty chapters; Sir A. H. Ward and Mr. H. H. Child each wrote fourteen. The Index itself covers 412 double-columned pages. Lord Tennyson's poems are given in alphabetical order, so that references to them may be found in a moment. *In Memoriam* has eleven entries. The same method gives Shakespeare nearly four packed columns. Shelley has a column and a quarter; Sir Walter Scott a column and three-quarters. The Index is itself a work of art, and adds greatly to the value of a classic history of our literature.

Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
By James Lewis. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

It was time that we had another Life of Asbury. That by the Rev. F. W. Briggs has long been out of print, and American writers have thrown much light on the scenes of his apostolic labours. The Rev. James Lewis has now given us a worthy biography of the great figure of American Methodism. He has long cherished a profound admiration for the man and his work. 'What Washington is in the political realm, Asbury is in the ecclesiastical—a star in the Western hemisphere that dwells apart. Nearly nine million of the eleven million communicants of Universal Methodism look to him as a great founder.' None of the men whom Wesley chose for special work in his later life was Asbury's equal as a leader and governor of men. President Coolidge said truly, when the equestrian statue was unveiled at Washington in October 1924, 'He is entitled to rank as

one of the builders of our nation.' His journal, with half a million words, is a narrative of 'almost unprecedented labour and hardship, written in a simple, homespun style, direct and strenuously matter of fact, lighted up here and there by a phrase evincing high purpose and masterful decision; at times, though seldom, he permits himself to include a thrilling bit of frontier romance or tragedy worthy of Fenimore Cooper.' He is always in motion, but he never neglects his reading. He finds comfort in his Greek Testament, and studies his Hebrew Bible 'for improvement.' He had to face many perils during the War of Independence, when his life was sometimes in real danger, but he stuck to his post when other preachers returned to England, and he reaped a rich reward in the wonderful spread of Methodism. He died in his seventy-first year, 'one of the greatest labourers and sufferers in the furtherance of the gospel that the world has seen since apostolic days. Like Caesar, nothing stood before him all his days; he swept aside every hindrance, and lived as though he were only a mind with a great divine object before it. His body he never considered, save to get out of it the utmost that it was capable of, in the service of God and his fellow men.' Mr. Lewis uses the journal freely, and makes the man live before our eyes as one of the most heroic and influential figures in the history of religion in America.

The Letters of Two Friends. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

This correspondence between Dr. Watkinson and the Rev. F. W. Macdonald is a memorial of a long and tender friendship. During their active life the two men were always in close touch, and stimulated and fortified each other for their work. When later years separated them more widely, the letters formed a golden link between them, and kept the two veterans in happy fellowship with each other. They seem very much alive in the pleasant raillery and fun that brighten the letters, whilst their love of books and delight in spiritual things is always in evidence. These things grew more precious as the days advanced, and the altar lights remained undimmed. The correspondence begins on December 26, 1919, and closes on February 15, 1925, with Mr. Macdonald's letter of sympathy to Miss Watkinson on her father's death. There is not a jarring note in the volume. The programme of life includes few pleasures, though it has much quiet happiness in it. One of the compensations for retirement is the larger opportunity for reading and devotion. Macknight's *Burke* is an inspiration to Dr. Watkinson. 'How God seems always to have ready a great man for England! Burke was the Shakespeare of the political world. But what sorrows overwhelmed these extraordinary men! The private life tragical.' He hears Henry Howard at Westminster. 'He is a thinker, with a free, fluent, dramatic style, the best type of the popular preacher. He makes great play with illustration.' He listens with pleasure to Cadman—a born orator, who 'has taken the place of Ward Beecher in America. I was greatly pleased with him.' Mr. Macdonald reports that he has

read more in 1921 than in any previous year. 'I have been giving the inexhaustible Shakespeare another opportunity of widening my horizon and deepening my sense of the complexity and mystery of human nature, by reading pretty carefully once more his four supreme tragedies—*Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. There is nothing profounder outside the Bible, but the difference between the "wisdom of men" and "the foolishness of God" is still immeasurable.' He is devouring the literature of Arctic and Antarctic expeditions and renewing his boyhood zest in the subject. In 1923 there is a pleasant reference to his nephew, Mr. Baldwin's, promotion to the office of Prime Minister. The whole book is delightfully alive. It is a real pleasure to get into the company of these two lovers of all things lovely and of good report.

A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler. By Mabel R. Brailsford. (Swarthmore Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

This book is dedicated 'To the brave memory of my father, Edward John Brailsford,' and he would have loved to read it. In her Introduction, Miss Brailsford shows that to Fox a Quaker soldier was a contradiction in terms. Yet he made no attempt at first to impress his judgement upon his followers, nor to wean his soldier followers from their allegiance. 'The doctrine and practice of non-resistance was born amidst the standing armies of the Commonwealth, and grew to maturity in the prisons of the Restoration. It remains, after two hundred and fifty years, the distinguishing mark of the Quaker Church, and their peculiar title to the name of Christian.' James Nayler has been called 'the reproach and the glory of Quakerism.' Six months of defection and disgrace have blotted out the memory of his six years of eloquent and victorious evangelism. Miss Brailsford would restore him to his place at the side of George Fox as a founder of Quakerism but little inferior to his leader. He was born in 1618 at West Ardsley, two miles from Wakefield, where he married and settled. For seven years he was in a foot regiment under Fairfax, and then became quartermaster in Lambert's Regiment of Horse. Lambert parted with him after the Battle of Worcester with great regret. In 1651 he settled on a little farm at Woodchurch, and when Fox came into the neighbourhood of Wakefield he was 'convinct.' He was soon led to go out as a preacher. He lacked the discernment of Fox, but all accounts of him bear witness to his beautiful voice and his compelling eloquence. He rose at once to a position in the Society only inferior to that of Fox himself. He was as much appreciated in London as in the provinces, and had an extraordinary power of reaching the conscience. His fall was tragic. He was led by some women admirers to dispute the leadership of Fox, and actually entered Bristol as 'the Lamb of God, in whom the hope of Israel stands.' He was brought to London and condemned to cruel punishment by the Parliament in 1656. He was not released till the Long Parliament set all Quakers at liberty in 1659. He was

reconciled to Fox, and died a year later. Miss Brailsford gives a picture of the man and the times which is of great interest, but she cannot set Nayler on his pedestal again. His fall shattered his reputation, and nothing can restore it.

The Rev Richard Baxter under the Cross (1662-91). By Frederick J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D. (Cape. 15s. net.)

Dr. Powicke has followed up his *Life of Baxter* by this more detailed study of its last thirty years, when he was living at Acton, Totteridge, and various parts of London. They were dark days, when he was under constant suspicion from the bigots of the time and when preaching and the pastoral care of souls, which were his meat and drink, was only allowed him under a kind of sufferance. But for nineteen years he had a young wife who loved and honoured him intensely, who took control of his financial affairs, and at no small cost to herself secured him opportunities to preach which were a blessing to himself and to many in West London. He married Margaret Charlton on September 10, 1662, and took a house in Moorfields at a lease of £20. Next year he moved to Acton, where he enjoyed the intimate friendship of Sir Matthew Hale, with whom he used to talk over what they were reading or writing. Intense study, cheered by domestic happiness, went on here without any jar from the unquiet outside world, with one or two exceptions. In June 1669 he was committed to the New Prison in Clerkenwell on account of his Sunday meetings, which were attended by almost all the town and parish, as well as by 'abundance' from Brentford and other places. He never preached during church hours, and always attended church himself, but that did not secure him from attack. His life at Clerkenwell was little more than easy restraint, and an honest jailer gave him a large room, with liberty to walk in a fair garden. He was released on a technical point, but his enemies made a new mittimus and hoped to throw him into Newgate, 'which was, since the Fire, the most noisome place (except the Tower Dungeon) of any Prison in the land.' That made it necessary for him to get five miles from Acton or London. He found shelter at Totteridge, first in a few mean rooms and then in a house which cost Mrs. Baxter much time and labour for 'alterations and amendment.' To her great comfort she got Mr. and Mrs. Corbet to live with them. Mrs. Corbet was a daughter of Dr. William Twiss, prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly. She and Mrs. Baxter fell in love with each other at once. The men were old friends, and Baxter says, 'In all the time he was with me I remember not that ever we differed once in any point of doctrine, worship, or government, ecclesiastical or civil, or that ever we had one displeasing word.' Dr. Powicke gives some interesting passages from Baxter's correspondence at this period, and throws light on the strange fact that neither Baxter nor Bunyan mentions the other, though they were the two greatest spirits in Puritanism, its two most famous preachers, its two most influential writers. In February 1673 it was safe for him to return

to London, and he took a house in Bloomsbury. In St. Martin's Parish there were 40,000 more than could get into the church, and when Mrs. Baxter found that this weighed upon his mind she secured a room where 800 gathered to hear Baxter preach. A main beam cracked with the weight, and the people ran out three times in terror, but Baxter reproved their fear as groundless, whilst his more practical wife got down the stairs through the crowd and secured a carpenter to put a prop under the middle of the beam. Prayer and the wise woman saved a catastrophe. Dr. Powicke's chapter on Mrs. Baxter is one of the gems of his book, and he is able to add in an Appendix a tribute to her which was strangely omitted from Baxter's autobiography. In Part II. accounts are given of Baxter's pleas for peace, and of the Separatists and Prelatists who stood at opposite poles from him in this matter. Dr. Powicke shows that Baxter's method of handling a subject was exhaustive. He had also a certain want of tact, which was largely due to his fastidious fidelity to truth; and an explosive temper, which sometimes blazed up without sufficient reason, though it died down as swiftly as it rose. 'His moral elevation could not be hid; and it reacted on those around him in the usual way. Some found its light in their conscience unbearable, and sought out every plausible excuse for the assumption that because he was a Puritan he must be a hypocrite.' The book is a distinct addition to our knowledge both of Baxter and the woman to whom he owed so many years of happiness and added usefulness.

Dorothy and William Wordsworth. By C. M. Maclean.
(Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

Miss Maclean is Lecturer in English in University College, Cardiff, and these nine essays make one feel that she is emphatically in her right place. The first of them shows us how Scotland looked to Dorothy Wordsworth when she made a tour in 1803 with her brother and Coleridge. The joy she received from watching the beauty of the world around her was half her life. She portrays the very soul of places. 'Of the Solway Moss she writes, "The dreary waste cheered by the endless singing of larks," and the words have the effect of an eagle's feather dropped on a moor. We never forget the place. She describes the Rock of Dumbarton in noble and simple prose. Her description of the little burying-ground on the banks of Loch Katrine lingers in the memory because of its deep peace, making even death seem companioned and companionable.' She attained something like perfect happiness when she and her brother William set up house together in 1795, and when he married she entered into every pleasure and vexation. She had the poet's ear and the poet's vision, and her brother was enormously indebted to her. Her vision, as well as his own, was incorporated in his poetry. 'Vulgar Errors' rebuts the charges of immoderate egoism, of lack of humour, of dullness, softness in grain, made against the poet; and other essays deal with his theory of poetic diction, the

substance of his poetry, and the disfavour into which it has fallen. The beauty which poetry ought to give, his work supplies in abundance. The number of fine single lines is notable. 'His poetry at its best is both a commentary on life and an illumination of it.' This is a choice little volume which lovers of Wordsworth will take to their hearts.

Flaubert's Youth, 1821-45. By Lewis Pidget Shanks. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. \$2.25.)

The Associate Professor of Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University says that the story of Flaubert's youth mirrors the youth of a whole generation. His letters, his juvenilia, and his travel-notes are his confessions. 'To follow his mind through these five octavos is to recognize that mind in the masterpieces published after he had reached the age of thirty-five, and to read his mature novels in the light thus shed upon them is to see how constantly he went back to the sharply-outlined memories and moods of his adolescence. For no sentimentalist escapes from his past, and Flaubert's past was the active life he renounced before he began *Madame Bovary*.' Flaubert's father was a doctor in Rouen, son of a veterinary surgeon, who was the son and grandson of country blacksmiths. Flaubert's mother was descended from one of the oldest noble families of Normandy, a family of soldiers and adventurers, whose scions appear among the Norman invaders of Sicily. She gave her son 'more than her sensitiveness, her Norman imagination, and her tendency to neurasthenia. She had the simplicity of the Pre-Revolutionary patrician, the intellectual breadth of the eighteenth century, and, above all, an intensely aristocratic pride, which appears in her son's disdain for bourgeois ideals of morality or material success.' Flaubert says, 'Made up entirely of virtues, she impudently declares that she does not even know what virtue is, and that she has never made to it a single sacrifice.' Beneath her cynicism she was absolutely devoted to her family. Mr. Shanks describes her son's development from year to year. He was 'just a timid and exuberant schoolboy, isolated by egotism and genius. At first he found Byronic joys to bear him up, being red-blooded and proud. He could despise and soar above humanity, reject all the claims of criticism, see in all things only the reflection of his own soul and the means of its development in a dream sufficient unto itself.' His student life, his travels, his early writings, and the ferment of his vague but fierce desires are described in a way that throws light on the youth of that generation. It closes before his twenty-fourth birthday, which may be taken as the terminal date of the novelist's youth. To know his youth is to know him as man and mystic, while 'to study his self-education through his early pages is to realize the power in the books that made him great.' Mr. Shanks dedicates his study to the happy few who require beauty, either of form or content, in the novels they read.

Sussex Pilgrimages. By R. Thurston Hopkins. (Faber & Gwyer. 12s. 6d. net.)

The Society of Sussex Downsmen was founded by Mr. Hopkins, and, as they read this book, men of other counties will wish they could share its rambles. The Preface opens with the praise of footpaths, though the author complains that they have always been his undoing, and have called him away from duty and rigid reality. He takes us along with him, finding delights for us at every turning. We share his spring-fret in the Bull's Head at Goring, and feel the thrill of the Downs, with 'the blue shadows of the great piled-up clouds floating swiftly across their green flanks, startling the wheatears in the gorse, and gliding down the fresh-turned furrows of the ploughland.' Mr. Hopkins opens his budget as we ramble along, and we listen to many a scrap of local history and have pleasant talks with homely folk. It will surprise many to read about the fellmonger's yard at Steyning, which sent thousands of sheepskins to our soldiers in the Great War. Three and a half delightful miles lead up from Steyning to Chanctonbury Ring, with its splendid view across the Weald. 'Some American Associations' fill two pleasant chapters. Miss Marchant, interviewed amid her apples and hazel-nuts, told how a Quaker who had been in America determined to preserve the memory of that adventure by building a New England here in Sussex. Hilaire Belloc's country round Shipley supplies some bright pages, and before long we find ourselves among the old inns of Brighton and busy in poring over Brighton records. It is gossip that one loves and learns much from, and the eight illustrations add to the interest with which we make these pleasant Sussex pilgrimages.

A Chronicle of Rye. By L. Grant. (Noel Douglas. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Grant gives a pleasant account of her house-hunting in Rye, which ended in her finding an old seventeenth-century place with great brown, rough beams of old ship timbers stretched from end to end of the sitting-room and a forest of hollyhocks in the garden. She loves the quaint town, and takes us about its streets, watching the children's games, and tells us stories of the smuggling which Wesley found so prevalent there. She draws portraits of former residents, describes the vanished shipyards, Camber Castle, the Ypres Tower, and the old churches at Playden and Guldeford. We get some weird tales of love and wandering spirits, and the chapter on 'Prisoners and Captives' goes back to days when maiming was a common punishment and the ducking-stool and stocks played their grim part in the life of the place. It is a brightly-written book, and its illustrations are very effective. On p. 45, for 1657 read 1687.

GENERAL

Essays in Philosophy. By James Ward. With a Memoir of the Author by Oliver Ward Campbell. (Cambridge University Press. 16s. net.)

PROFESSOR WARD sometimes spoke of publishing a volume of essays, and jotted down a provisional list of titles, but it has been left to his friends, Professors Sorley and Stout, to gather together these twelve essays, which approach the problems of philosophy in a way that is not severely technical, but makes a popular appeal. The extended memoir by his younger daughter helps us to understand the difficulties with which her father had to struggle before he found his life-work. James Ward, senior, was a man of ability and strong religious belief, but he was singularly lacking in judgement, and brought disaster on himself and his children. The future professor was articled to a firm of architects in Liverpool, and then studied for the Congregational ministry at Spring Hill College. During his six years there he was never at rest in mind, body, or spirit. Every member of his family turned to him in business perplexities and religious doubts; his health was delicate, he was going through the ordeal of continual examinations, and he was tormented with self-questioning and self-reproach. In 1869 the Dr. Williams Scholarship enabled him to study in Germany, where Lotze's teaching made a lasting impression on his thought. On his return he accepted the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Cambridge, but in 1873 he won a scholarship in Moral Science at Trinity College, with which his connexion remained unbroken till his death in 1925. He was elected Fellow of Trinity in 1874, and in 1881 was appointed Lecturer in Moral Science. His work in psychology, as represented in his masterly article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ranks with William James's *Principles of Psychology* as the most important contributions made in English to the subject. His two series of Gifford Lectures at once became classics, and when he died it was felt that a remarkable figure had passed out of the Cambridge world. Philosophy had not brought him a life of easy meditation but of hard and strenuous pursuit. The essays begin with a consideration of the question, 'Can Faith Remove Mountains?' by which he means 'realizing its object and so justifying itself by the actual experience and knowledge of what has been hoped for while yet unseen.' St. Paul declared that if his faith were groundless he would be of all men most miserable. 'If such be, indeed, as some aver, the melancholy outcome of the theist's hope, then, however heroic and holy may have been St. Paul's life, I, for my part, should say that his faith had been a failure and no mountains were removed.' It is a striking essay, which will for many be a help to faith. 'For if we regard the world as a whole as the Unknown struggling into life, may not religious faith be a higher phase of this struggle; and, if so, is it not as likely to be consummated

as those lower and blinder impulses have been?' The essays on the progress of philosophy, its difficulties, the present trend of speculation, and kindred themes, open up a field which is of indefinite extent, and show with what masterly care Dr. Ward moved about it. He sees that 'the spiritualistic and practical tendencies of philosophy at the present time are bringing it into close relations with religion; its theory of knowledge is one that leaves, as Kant said, "room for faith."' The essay on 'Philosophical Orientation' makes it clear that mechanism is not the secret of the universe; that if it is to have any meaning it must subserve some end. 'What Naturalism strives to show is that the fragment is the whole; all there is is this mechanical substructure; there is for Naturalism no rational edifice at all.' This is emphasized in 'Mechanism and Morals.' The tendency of neutral monism from the mechanical towards the teleological side points to the advent of a spiritualistic interpretation of the world that culminates in the notion of the good. The essays on Heredity and Memory, Einstein and Epistemology and Immanuel Kant are masterpieces which richly repay study, and the closing essay, on 'The Christian Ideas of Faith and Eternal Life,' confirms what Dr. Ward said more than twenty years ago: 'In so far as he lets his light shine and men see his good works, the religious man affords practical evidence of the worth of his faith. With enough of such light the survival of faith would be sure.'

Sociality: The Art of Living Together. By Atkinson Lee. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s. net.)

The new Hartley Lecture is a study of social life regarded as an art, with a method of its own, which needs much diligence if it is to be mastered. Its foundation is empathy, or feeling oneself into the life of others. Mr. Lee describes the emotional reaction of such feeling and then shows how it expresses itself in likes and dislikes. 'Love does not necessarily promote sociality. It does so only when rightly distributed. Our idea of social life, therefore, is one in which love is rightly bestowed upon admirable people.' The sociological features of sympathy and reciprocity lead up to a chapter on the importance of Utopias which deal with the indefinite improbability of man. Full sociality can, however, only be realized in the religious realm, and into that the lecturer passes with studies of fellowship, the Kingdom of God, and ultimate harmony. Perfect sociality could be attained in a world of souls moved by complete harmony of feeling between all individuals, of whatever grade. That is the goal towards which Mr. Lee sets his face, and the way in which he reasons out his theme proves him to be an accomplished professor of philosophy and of social science.

The Ethics and Economics of Family Endowment. By Eleanor R. Rathbone, M.A., J.P., C.C. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. net.)

Sir Josiah Stamp's Beckly Social Service Lecture made a great impression at York, and Miss Rathbone has a subject which is much

in evidence at the present time. She divides her lecture into the Theory and the Practice of Family Endowment. 'Society has only recently made provision for the failure of income through unemployment, sickness, death of the wage-earner, or old age. Now we ask it to complete the structure by providing for increase of need caused by child dependency.' The economic case is set forth with many figures, and the effect of the present system on character and well-being is considered. Family Endowment, Miss Rathbone urges, would be a symbol that society had at last recognized that the child supply has an economic value, and that when the mother gives up moulding cigarettes in order to mould the bodies and minds of future men and women she has not really ceased to be an 'occupied person' and a producer. The schemes in operation on the Continent and in Australasia are described with much helpful detail, and lead up to the future of Family Endowment in this country. This is considered in various departments, such as the teaching profession, the mining industry, agriculture, &c. Miss Rathbone does not disguise the objections to such proposals, but she thinks that 'by the impersonal, impartial use of the economic stimulus or the economic check, society will be able for the first time to exercise some influence over the seed-time and harvest of its own renewal.'

Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. Volume IX.: 'Sacrament' to 'Teignmouth.' (W. & R. Chambers. 20s. net.)

Chambers's Encyclopaedia has a great reputation, and this new edition is steadily adding to it. The fullest and most reliable information is here packed into small compass, but it is always pleasant reading. The three columns on Sainte-Beuve give an interesting account of the famous French critic, and the articles on Saint-Simon, the founder of French Socialism, and the Duc de Saint-Simon, the memoir writer, show with what care the work has been done. The prince of fishes claims ten columns, which give its life-history and the salmon-fishery laws. The history and Church history of Scotland are fully treated, and such subjects as steam and steam-engines, science, storms, sun, are carefully handled. The former edition has been revised by experts, new subjects have been added, and maps and illustrations are freely introduced. One more volume will complete this new edition.

A Parson's Log. By George Jackson, D.D. Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

These papers appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, and deal with such subjects as Faith and Criticism, The Fascination of Jesus, Wordsworth's Attitude to Christianity, The Religion of Scott, and many aspects of preaching and questions of the faith. They are largely based on books, and have a literary flavour which makes

them very pleasant reading. Sir Robertson Nicoll's praise of Macaulay's style is warmly endorsed. In building up words into sentences, sentences into paragraphs, and paragraphs into the larger whole of a sermon or an essay, there are few better models than Macaulay. 'The Religion of Scott' shows that the influence of his life and work has told steadily on the Christian side. The papers are always bright and suggestive.

In Empire's Cause, by Ernest Protheroe (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.), is a book for young patriots. It will show them how the Empire has been built by deeds of daring from the beginnings of our Navy down to the days of Blake, Marlborough, Wolfe, Nelson, Wellington, and on to the heroic struggles of the Great War. The story is told with a life and spirit which warm one's heart to the procession of Empire-builders, and the illustrations add to the thrill of the adventures.—*The Secret Flower*, by Iris L'Estrange Malone (Epworth Press, 2s.), is a real love-story with a young doctor and a girl artist who seem made for each other. It has a glow and enthusiasm well befitting a young writer, and they are distinctly infectious.—*King Arthur and his Knights*. (Epworth Press. 1s. net.) This is a striking addition to the Epworth Children's Classics. The stories are beautifully told, and Mr. R. B. Ogle's illustrations are a great success.—*Reprieve*, by Halbert J. Boyd (Crosby Lockwood, 7s. 6d. net), is a weird story of a castaway from the sea who wrecks the peace of a family and then vanishes in a storm. It is a clergyman's work, and it makes special appeal to lovers of the occult, though it is strangely unreal and unconvincing.

Messrs. Longmans issue two volumes of Dean Inge's *Orisproken Essays*, First and Second Series, in their St. Paul's Library of Fact and Fiction (3s. 6d. net). The crown octavo volumes are well printed and neatly bound, whilst the essays have taken rank as bold and helpful discussions of subjects which vitally concern all Christian thinkers. In the same Library appears the striking work by F. W. H. Myers—*Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*. It originally appeared sixteen years ago, in two volumes, at a cost of two and a half guineas. It has now been skilfully abridged, the cases being nearly always quoted in full, and not in the appendices but in the text. A biographical sketch is prefixed to a work which may almost be said to mark an epoch in the study of the phenomena which seem to throw light on the future life.—*The Kiddies' Annual*, with numerous illustrations in colour and in black and white (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d. net), was never more variously attractive. 'The Giant's Stories,' by Mrs. Ritchie, are unique in their own line, and everything in the volume is calculated to arrest the attention of little folk and give them the purest pleasure.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—Dr. Northcroft, writing on 'American Prosperity and British Industry' thinks that British industry needs to develop a type of management that will be ingenious and alert in matters of organisation, and also just and sympathetic towards employees. The replacement of antiquated methods and processes of machinery, which will produce more goods at a much reduced cost, is the second step towards a new industrial future for Great Britain. The third and final step is that British workers, accepting the lessons of American experience in respect of wages and labour cost, shall develop the latent spirit of co-operation, and, helping to lower costs, shall take higher earnings as their rightful reward. Mr. Coulton, in 'The Inquisition Once More' says it was 'a tribunal with almost unexampled possibilities for evil, in an age far less sensitive than ours to bodily suffering or death. It was like a revolver in the Far West. The man behind it might be peaceful enough, but there always was the ready tool ready to kill at any moment.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—This number lacks somewhat the articles of weighty and outstanding importance to which the editor has accustomed us, but it contains matter of very various interest. The first three articles testify to the international character of the periodical, for a Russian prince writes on 'The Problem of Authority,' a Spanish publicist on 'Conscience and War,' while in the third a learned German unfolds the importance for every nation of the political education of its citizens. Mr. J. M. Murry's dissertation on 'The Metaphysic of Poetry' does not bear summarizing, but the writer is clear that it is not the philosophical, but the poetical element, in philosophical poetry that moves, and purifies, and uplifts us. H. N. Wieman has written an article on Professor Whitehead's concept of God which is more likely to commend itself to philosophers than to saints, but whatever helps to make men think of God, both deeply and practically, is of service in a godless generation. Principal Selbie's article on the recent Lausanne Conference will be read with interest. Two educational articles are 'A Challenge to Public Schools,' by Dr. E. Lyttelton, and 'The Schools of the Future,' by E. B. Castle, M.A. Dr. Vincent Taylor's paper on 'The Fourth Gospel and Some Recent Criticism' is able and scholarly. There is more truth than is generally recognized in his reference to the fact that any decision we reach as to the character and value of the Fourth Gospel (a wonderful book on any theory of its authorship) is 'influenced'—it might almost be said determined—'by our general attitude of mind and the conceptions we have formed of

Jesus and His teaching.' Dr. Taylor, who writes with candour and moderation, appears to agree with the views of Dr. Stanton concerning the Gospel, rather than those of Dr. Estlin Carpenter.

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—Dr. McNeile, of Trinity College, Dublin, gives an account of 'Some Early Canons' of apostles and councils contained in a recently-discovered MS. belonging to Archbishop Usher. Dr. G. H. Dix contributes a study in the origin, development, and Messianic associations of 'The Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits.' His paper is more than a contribution to the literature of Jewish angelology; its bearing on the exposition of certain passages in the Apocalypse is obvious. The phrase 'Seven Spirits of God' is here explained. The recent investigations into the composition of the Third Gospel have not produced unanimity of opinion. Here the Rev. J. W. Hunkin examines what may be called the theories of Canon Streeter and Dr. Vincent Taylor, and his own suggestions deserve consideration. Archbishop Bernard's expository study of Mark x. 38, Dr. Turner's note on 1 Tim. vi. 12, and Professor Burkitt's two short papers on Mark viii. 12, &c., are excellent illustrations of one important purpose promoted by the work done for this valuable Journal. The Book Reviews are full of interest.

Holborn Review (July) is an excellent number. The first three articles bear on the work of foreign missions. Sirdar Ikbāl Ali Shah explains the significance of the first Moslem Congress, held at Mecca last June, as 'a new departure in the history of Islamic peoples.' The Rev. H. Ogden, dealing with 'The White Race in Africa,' speaks of the occupying for Christ of every part of the Dark Continent as 'among the most urgent policies of insurance which the Churches can pursue' against bad times that may come. The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin, in dealing with 'The Decay of Primitive Races' in the Islands of the Pacific, points out that 'wherever Christianity has sent its roots down into the subsoil of a people's life, new vitality has been apparent.' The Rev. W. Holtby expounds the 'Humiliation of Christ' as consisting, not in His Incarnation, but in His 'dedication to the service of men, culminating in death itself, and worse than death.' Other articles include 'Schweitzer's Moral Theories,' 'Fanny Burney,' and a paper by the Rev. Joseph Ritson on the early life of Lord Morley. The Editor's Notes add a pleasant personal touch to the literary element in this Review.

Expository Times (June).—The Notes for the month deal, among other things, with three recent 'Lives' of Christ—Papini's *Story of Christ*, Mr. Middleton Murry's *Life*, and Dr. Warschauer's *Historical Life of Jesus*. The juxtaposition of the three is characteristic of our times. Professor J. A. Robertson's exposition of the much-discussed Parable of the Unjust Judge is, as might be expected, illuminating. All the expositions of parables that have appeared lately in this periodical have been timely and suggestive. Dr. J. O. F. Murray's

second paper on the Messiahship of Jesus deals with the 'Evidence of St. John.' Professor Shaw of Halifax (N.S.) deals with the 'Rest of the Future Life.' He apparently feels with Browning, though he does not say so, 'I have had troubles enough, for one.' Special attention will be given by some of our readers to Dr. A. W. Harrison's article on 'Methodism as a Present-Day Faith.' The writer admits that there has been a 'decay in much that was characteristic of the old Methodism,' but anticipates the fulfilment of its mission in 'a great and new period' in the history of the Church of Christ.—(July).—Dr. J. O. F. Murray continues his examination into the Messiahship of Jesus. Principal Wheeler Robinson describes the positions of 'The Faith of the Baptists' in its relation to the creeds of the present day. Professor A. C. Welch expounds Psalm lxxxi., and the Rev. E. Beal contributes some suggestive pages on 'The Unwritten Counterpart of the Gospels.'

Church Quarterly (July).—Dr. Headlam, in 'A Defence of the New Prayer Book,' says it 'gives us great freedom, it is rich in its devotional power, it is adapted to the conditions and needs of the times in which we live, it gives us the opportunity alike for well-ordered and imposing religious ceremonial or the simple worship of the country church, it preserves everything that we love in the old Prayer Book, it removes that which grates upon us, it is enriched in many directions. If we are prepared loyally and from our heart to accept it, we shall create such a strong tide of religious life as to be able to submerge the irregularities and disorders of those who are too individualistic in their outlook.'

Anglican Theological Review (April).—Cyril E. Hudson describes prayer as loving submission to God, which increases the amount of love available. That love is the greatest spiritual force in the universe. 'Because it is God's will that men should be *every whit whole*, we shall not hesitate to pray, for ourselves and others, for bodily as well as spiritual health and healing.' Professor Gowen has an interesting article on 'The Theriomorphic in Theology.' 'Is it possible that a doctrine which lies so near the roots of primitive religion, and which has been in its several degrees perceived by religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism, has no place whatever in our Christian system?' The place of animal life in the ultimate scheme of things and man's physical kinship with the forces of nature are suggestive themes. The number is one of special value. It is published in this country by Mr. H. Milford.

Congregational Quarterly (July).—Professor Andrews's Drew Lecture is on 'The Teaching of Jesus Concerning the Future Life.' In our Lord's conception there is an absolute continuity between this life and the next. Whatever transformation may take place in our passage to the eternal world, it will not destroy the identity of our personality. Mr. Atkins has a thought-provoking article, 'In Defence of the Non-Churchgoer,' but it does not do more than touch the surface. The number is varied and interesting.

Christian Union Quarterly (July).—Professor Vernon Bartlett deals with the agenda of the Lausanne Conference of August. There are two papers on the Community Church and its contribution to Christian Union. Every side of that subject is discussed in this number.

The Review of Religions (July) thinks the decay of Buddhism is due to the fact that it is an abstruse philosophy, and holds that Christianity 'cannot keep pace with the rapidly changing conditions of mankind, and no amount of adaptation can enable it to do so.' That is certainly not the view of Christian thinkers who are in the best position to survey the whole field. An Urdu pamphlet is quoted, which says 'the pitiable plight of Islam to-day is not hidden from the Moslems.' It is attacked both by Hinduism and Christianity. The Hindus offer them the choice of conversion to Hinduism or expulsion from India. The writer of the pamphlet calls for the education of the uneducated Moslems and an effort to convert non-Moslems to Islam.

Science Progress (July).—Herbert Mace describes 'Some Factors in Flower Development.' White and yellow are the most favourable colours. Other colours probably attract the attention of insects and lead to the proper transference of pollen. There is also a restriction of insect eyesight so far as perception of the rays of the spectrum is concerned. Scarlet runners which Mr. Mace planted in Macedonia attracted the blue beetles, and every flower was eaten, whilst white-flowered French beans were not touched. The beetles had probably acquired a range of colour vision which enabled them to perceive only the red end of the spectrum. There are interesting articles on 'Migration in Aphides'; 'The Chronology of Prehistoric Times'; and a biography of Dr. Wollaston, who died on December 22, 1828. He experimented even on his death-bed.

British Journal of Inebriety (July).—Sir William Willcox, who retires after three years' service as president of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, thanks Dr. Kelynack for his invaluable work and unflagging interest as secretary and editor for twenty-five years. Sir Arthur Newsholme is the new president. For many years he has taken the greatest interest in the society, and his Ker Memorial Lecture in 1921 is remembered as one of its most valuable records. Dr. Branthwaite's paper on 'The Inebriates Act, 1898,' is the important feature of this number.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (May).—This number opens with a paper by W. E. Garrison describing 'A Surviving Mystery Play: Primitive Religious Drama on the American Frontier.' He describes the play as 'a survival of a religious attitude and cultural stage which existed in England and Italy in the fifteenth century, in Spain in the sixteenth, and in Mexico in the seventeenth.' The second article deals with foreign influences discernible in the literature of

the Old Testament. That there was 'some interpenetration of cultures' is not denied, but the chief interest lies in the use made by Old Testament writers of partial 'borrowings.' Dr. Wieman of Los Angeles, in 'How Religion Cures Human Ill,' deals with psychotherapy and kindred subjects. The Symposium on the Definition of Religion is concluded in this number, the three contributors being R. E. Hume, E. Scribner Ames, and H. N. Wieman. One writer holds that 'religion is man's acute awareness of the vast realm of unattained possibility and the behaviour that results from this awareness.' Another says, 'Religion is the consciousness of the highest social values.' Many readers of this symposium will agree with William James, that a definition of religion is impossible.

Harvard Theological Review.—Professor Campbell Bonner describes, in the April number, 'A New Fragment of the *Shepherd of Hermas*' (Michigan Papyrus, 44-H). He concludes from its irregularities that it presents 'a partial picture of something like a Western text.' Dr. Buonauiuti, of the University of Rome, writes on 'Manichaeism and Augustine's Idea of *Massa Perditionis*.' His inquiries, assisted by recent discoveries of new Manichaean sources, have strengthened his conviction that 'Augustine's anthropology owes much more than is commonly thought to the Manichaean system which he had followed in his youth.' Professor Laistner's article, entitled 'A Ninth-Century Commentator on the Gospel according to Matthew,' refers to Christian of Stavelot, a religious settlement in the Ardennes. His independent spirit is said to contrast markedly with 'the slavish adherence to earlier authorities noticeable in some of his contemporaries.' A foremost place is claimed for him 'among the lesser scholastic figures of the Carolingian age.'

Princeton Theological Review (April).—Professor R. D. Wilson, under the heading 'The Hebrew of Daniel,' examines the meaning and usage of two Hebrew words, and concludes that there is no evidence to be derived from their use, which points to an age subsequent to Nehemiah for the language of the books of Daniel and Chronicles. The article on 'Hegelianism and Theism,' by C. Bouma, is well written; the writer contends that 'a barren Absolute, not personal, not moral, not beautiful or true, is not God,' and cannot possibly be worshipped. Other articles are 'The Davidic Dynasty,' by T. Oscar Boyd; 'Protestantism in Europe,' by S. W. Beach; and 'The Blessing of Abraham,' by Oswald T. Allis. The last-named seeks to show that 'the rendering of the Abrahamic blessing adopted by A.V. rests upon good authority and should be accepted,' in preference to modern critical emendations.

Methodist Review (New York) (May—June).—One of the best recent numbers of this ably-edited periodical. It is largely devoted to the consideration of public worship, a living and important subject, and for once the papers written upon it are worthy of the theme.

We cannot summarize them here, but may say that the first—'Some Reflections on Public Worship,' by Dr. Beebe, formerly Dean of Boston University theological school—ought to be widely read and then promptly acted upon. The Symposium on the same theme includes half a dozen writers, who, bishops and professors though they may be, evidently understand its practical bearings. The editor has rendered a public service by making room for this discussion. Professor Crawford writes on Browning's 'Christmas Eve,' Dr. Harbitt and the Rev. W. Pellowe on 'John Wesley and Science,' and Professor Stoltz on 'Behaviouristic Propaganda.' Two papers which will interest others besides theologians are 'The Doctrine of Original Sin in Methodist Theology' and 'The Pauline Criticism of the Spiritual.' The 'Departments'—Arena, Interpreter, Foreign Outlook, Biblical Research—all contain interesting matter.—(July—August).—Dr. Kohlstedt's article on 'The Impact of an Adequately-trained Leadership' emphasizes the need, in the present period of political and social unrest, of ethical uncertainty, of the stabilizing influence, constructive policy, and programme of an intelligent, adequately-equipped Christian leadership. 'The Arena' has interesting papers on Holman Hunt, 'The Painter of the Christ,' and 'Coleridge, Maker of Great Preachers.'

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (May—June).—J. F. Macdonald, in 'The Religion of Thomas Hardy,' says the place to find this is not in his novels but in his poetry. His outlook on life is actually determined by the keenness with which he feels the wrongs of others. H. D. Ranns writes pleasantly on 'Books of the Preacher Craft.' He endorses Mr. Gossip's word to students, 'Never has the office of preaching been more momentous than it will be in your time.'

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (June).—The frontispiece is a Persian miniature representing Omar Khayyám seated in a tree with a book in his hand. Mrs. Rhys Davids gives 'Kindred Sayings of Buddhism.' Religion was the warding of man through the worlds—a way of living at one's best. Its central message had a wonderful opportunity for uplifting the life of man among his fellows, and as a missionary cult Buddhism spread far and wide. It appealed to man's radiating will-to-well, but at the same time twisted and half starved it in its monk-scriptures. 'The Love-Songs of Asia,' 'Japanese Literature,' and Calcutta student life fifty years ago, are other interesting subjects.

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Book Chat

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A Notable Biography.

THE world is forwarded,' Matthew Arnold said in his famous essay on Wordsworth, 'by having its attention fixed on the best things'; and few men of our generation have done that great service to their fellows in the realm of literature with such zeal and effectiveness as the subject of this interesting memoir, *Richard Green Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.*

Mr. Fiddian Moulton reveals a scholar 'whose main object was not to amass learning, but to popularize what he possessed, and to show the multitude how to share his own enjoyment of the best literature.' A life-like portrait of this gifted man is given us, who was for fifty years, to quote Sir Michael Sadler's words, 'a missionary of culture, an apostle of adult education.' He was one of the most popular and influential of Cambridge University lecturers in connexion with University Extension work. The rapid growth of the movement in this country and America is largely the result of his indefatigable energy and enthusiasm.

During twenty-seven years' brilliant service as Professor in Chicago University he was a link between the two British-speaking races, while his books on the Bible are among our chief treasures. Professor Grant, of Leeds University, wrote of him just after his death, 'There have been many lecturers, but only one Moulton, and I hardly think there will be another.' Mr. Moulton's delightful account of his distinguished uncle's life and work may be had for 5s. net.

The Evangel of the Hebrew Prophets.

This volume is an attempt to express, in the language of to-day, the Evangel of the Old Testament writers as the author has apprehended it by the study, during many years, of the relevant literature. In 1874 Dr. John Dury Geden delivered the Fernley Lecture at Cambridge, taking as his subject *The Doctrine of a Future Life as Contained in the Old Testament Scriptures*. In the preface to this Lecture (the price of which is 5s. net), Dr. A. S. Geden, the son of the lecturer in 1874, says: 'The problems which then engaged attention have changed their aspect with the lapse of time, but it is certain the leading thought and contention of that lecture are as securely established and as urgent now for the presentation of truth and reality as they were in 1874.'

Dr. Geden takes a wide survey. He seeks to fix the central purpose and meaning of the writers of the Old Testament and to

estimate the contribution they made to the sum of human knowledge. The author shows that their teaching is in the direct line of development of the most vital and certain of human beliefs with regard to God and man's relation to Him. Dealing with the central elements in the thought and purpose of the Hebrew Scriptures, the reader is taken along a path which vindicates the principle and method of the book.

The books are discussed in turn and placed in their historic setting, the result being a mosaic of arresting beauty. The author indicates how each of the prophets made his own contribution, yet in such a way that the harmony of the picture is preserved. The unity of doctrine and thought which the Jews maintained through centuries of persecution and injustice is neatly summed up as 'a nation's faith in a nation's God.' The *Times Literary Supplement* does not exaggerate when it says the volume 'proves to be an illuminating introduction to the study of the Old Testament religion.'

Cornish Humour.

For genuine Cornish humour we venture to say Mark Guy Pearse's new book could not be beaten. The quaintness of the people, their devoutness and wealth of affection live again in the racy pages of *The Ship where Christ was Captain* (3s. 6d. net). The author rightly feels that Cornwall is rapidly losing all that marked it off from other parts of England, and that makes his book the more precious to lovers of its language and charming characters. To quote his own words, 'In the old days the toast of the Delectable Duchy was "Fish, Tin, and Copper." To-day we live mostly on visitors and visitors live on us.'

His recent volume, *A Village Down West*, was 'full of love and tenderness and reality.' In this book he stands before us as one of the commanding figures of Methodist literary history. The renewing, reforming ministry of Methodism is here seen afresh. Mr. Pearse has a county gallery where his friends not only smile on us, but enliven us with their ready wit and sparkling repartee. Billy Bray, one of the chief gifts of the Bible Christian section of our Church; Samuel Drew, 'cobbler and metaphysician'; Moses Dunn, fisherman and pilot, are some of the characters that come to life and become an inspiration to the reader.

The *Nottingham Journal* says, 'This is a book that will entrance all Cornishmen, and will fascinate all Methodists whether they be Cornishmen or not.'

The History of the Church in France.

As the historian Freeman pointed out sixty years ago, history

is one, and we cannot understand our own without knowing that of other countries. It is sometimes forgotten that 'the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,' yet those only can rightly watch who know how liberty has been attained and in what it consists.

Dr. Lowis has therefore rendered a real service to students of history by giving us the results of his research in so interesting and readable a form. There is much force in Professor Bett's words that the subject is one 'which is apt to be passed over somewhat slightly in general histories of the Church, which are more interested in German and Italian affairs at this period than in occurrences in the country now known to us as France.' The times of Hugh Capet and the religious life and thought of the age are described in a way that bears out the author's estimate of the Church's service in helping to lay the foundations of a strong and enlightened political order. Despite many defects, the Mediaeval Church held up before the world a high ideal of love and service. In the opinion of Dr. Lowis, 'it preserved civilization from collapse.'

A valuable feature of this volume (price 7s. 6d. net) is the sharp relief in which the author brings out the relation of the feudal and ecclesiastical factors in the civil and political life of nascent France. The Church did much to shape the country 'which was to be the foremost obstacle to a realization of the mediaeval conception of a United Christendom, at the head of which sat the Universal Emperor and the Universal Pope.'

Students of history will remember that the period A.D. 950-1000 saw the last serious conflict between the claims of Rome and the assertion of independence by local episcopal synods under royal direction. The importance of the trial in 991 of Arnulf, the Archbishop of Rheims, is discussed with knowledge and understanding.

The Mastership of Jesus.

The various implications of the word 'Master' as used in the Gospels are clearly brought out by the Rev. Frank Cox, Chairman of the Sheffield District, in his eight Studies of *The Mastership of Jesus* (2s. 6d. and 1s 6d. net). Helpful lessons are found in this book, which bears evidence of a knowledge of modern needs and a great love for the Master. The purpose is to show all that is implied in the claims made by our Lord, 'when so many are ready to acknowledge Jesus as Master, but have not considered all that is bound up in that title.'

Mr. Cox does not shrink from difficulties; but his language is never vague, ambiguous or merely mystical. He has thought out

his subjects thoroughly, with the result that these Studies are penetrating, stimulating, and thought-provoking. We would especially recommend the book to young readers, for, as the poet said in a moment of high inspiration, 'Sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier days.'

At the end of the book the author has compiled a series of questions and topics for the use of Study Circle groups, which should prove of great value.

A Book for Preachers.

In days when not a little is heard of dullness in the pulpit Mr. Clapperton's book, *First Steps in Preaching*, is particularly timely. Instead of theorizing, the author tells the young preacher in simple, straightforward language what he has to do if he wishes to be helpful and inspiring. As the true traveller must have a sense of strangeness, of the fantastic, of the infinite variety of the world, so the young preacher must have both good sense and knowledge.

To prepare a sermon may, at first sight, appear simple; but those who have made the attempt will realize, in the words of Mr. Clapperton, that 'the precious treasure must be toiled for, with earnest prayer and prolonged searching.' In this book various ways are indicated, which, if honestly put to the test, can scarcely fail to bring success. To discover new ideas is one of the greatest problems which confront speakers; but the author goes to the root of the matter when he says, 'Originality consists in finding new connexions of facts and thoughts.'

Another question discussed is that of focusing sermon-thought. To hear or read the speeches of national leaders of thought is to appreciate the value of great literature, but the toil they represent is not always remembered. Joseph Chamberlain would shut himself in his library all the morning, all the afternoon, and after late dinner, until the early hours of the next morning. He accomplished nothing, and would say, 'I cannot find my line.' The next evening, or the evening after that, he would say to his wife, 'Whatever happens I am going to make my speech before I go to bed to-night.' And he would do it, though it meant staying up till three or four in the morning.

The best praise we can give this admirable book, the price of which is 2s. 6d. net, is to say that it will enable young preachers who are in earnest 'to find their line.'

Chambers of Imagery.

In the production of poetry men and women are creators.

Sometimes we speak of works of the imagination, forgetting that all people imagine: they dream dreams and see visions. The common things of life are transmuted into gold. What are all our pictures of the future but a journey into unknown worlds of thought? In our fancies and more tangible wishes we combine circumstances that never perhaps have existence in reality, and never will except in our day-dreams. In fact, we are all thinkers of romance, though we are not all writers of romance.

'We seem,' it has been said, 'to treat the thoughts that present themselves to the fancy in crowds as a great man treats those that attend his levee. They are all ambitious of his attention. He goes round the circle, bestowing a bow upon one, a smile upon another, asks a short question of a third, while a fourth is honoured with a particular conference.'

In *Songs of a Hermit* (3s. net) by Gilbert Littlemore, with an introduction by J. le Gay Brereton, B.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, there are many precious gems of thought, and flashes of spiritual insight. Some of the immortal longings expressed by the Hermit recall experiences of our own. The verses are clearly the work of one who has time for thought and meditation.

The shadow of suffering cheerfully borne falls across the pages. A master of metaphor has made the complaining wax speak thus. 'Unaccountable this,' said the wax, as from the flame it dropped melting upon the paper beneath. 'Do not grieve,' said the paper, 'I am sure it is all right.' 'I was never in such agony!' exclaimed the wax, still dropping. 'It is not without a good design and will end well,' replied the paper. The wax was unable to reply at once, and when it again looked up it bore a beautiful impression, the counterpart of the seal which had been applied to it. 'Ah, I understand now,' said the wax, no longer in suffering, 'I was softened in order to receive this lovely durable impress.'

The great merit of this book of verse is that the writer speaks from his own experience about the truths which he clothes in poetry that is both simple and dignified.

'Christian Foundations: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine.'

This book is an up-to-date Manual of Christian Doctrine, specially written to meet the needs of Bible students by one who is an expert on the subject, and we believe it will supply a real need. The author is the Rev. H. Maldwyn Hughes, M.A., D.D., who will be remembered as the writer of the *Theology of Christian Experience*, and other well-known works.

The Science of Religion has been defined by Dr. Hodge as 'the exhibition of the facts of Scripture in their proper order and relation, with the principles or general truths involved in the facts themselves.' In every other sphere man is not content with noting and registering facts as they are presented to observation, but seeks to reduce them to order and understand their inner connexion. The result of this process is science.

The author examines the 'Foundations' with scholarly skill, yet in a spirit of penetration and discernment that brings the flashing of unexpected light on a dark place, so that even those who are on familiar ground will find it stimulating to go through the pages with Dr. Hughes as their companion and guide. Fresh vistas of thought open up before the reader as the objects with which theology deals, such as the contents of the Christian consciousness, the belief in God, sin, redemption, immortality &c., are discussed in their relation to Christian doctrine.

The book is a clear and clarifying study, a lesson not only in exact thinking but in thoughtfulness, reverence, and trustfulness. It will help to bring the devout soul into closer contact with the central themes, while the earnest moral purpose can scarcely fail to make an impression on the minds of those who are seeking the truth with sincerity of purpose and singleness of heart. The price of the Manual is 4s. net.

Christian Perfection.

Dr. Harold Perkins is to be congratulated on his thesis *The Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, a work for which the London University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The author shows the source from which every man's faith must come, if it is to mean anything at all. The difficulties that lie in the way are not put on one side, but honestly met and overcome.

Christianity reveals many facets, and the problems it brings to light for those who strive after perfection are indicated in a striking way. Several avenues of thought open up, as will be discovered by those who peruse the pages with Dr. Perkins as their guide. The volume is not only marked by clear thinking and cogent reasoning, but also by modesty and restraint, which bear abundant testimony to the breadth of the author's outlook.

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The area covered is wide, but not too wide to prevent Dr. Perkins keeping to the task he set himself, which was to inquire 'into the sources from which the idea of Evangelical Perfection has sprung, together with some survey of the historical developments it has undergone.' This involved much research work. The volume contains many stimulating thoughts, sheds valuable light on the historical content of our faith, and is a careful, scholarly study 'of influences outside Christianity which have affected the doctrine and of developments in the Early Church.' The price of the book is 8s. 6d. net.

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The volume bears evidence of studious care and skilful workmanship, and is in every way up to the standard of his preceding works. Readers will lay down the book with a feeling that they have been in company with one who is a master of his subject.

A Stirring Book of Adventure.

In days when many are casting wistful glances across the seas, books that faithfully portray the prevailing conditions in the guise of a thrilling story are always welcome. Those who live in crowded areas dream of the vast open spaces where, by the toil of hand and brain, they can clear a portion of land and erect a homestead. The soaring spirit of ambition demands an outlet, and so their thoughts turn to other lands.

Joseph Bowes, who is already well known as an author of stirring stories dealing with Australian life, gives us a fascinating

tale of a 'new chum' in Queensland. The title of the book is *The Young Settler* (price 5s. net). Dealing with a youth who, seized by the wanderlust, went out to seek his fortune in the Island Continent, the story shows how he ultimately won through in the face of many difficulties.

The hero of the story is Julian Grey. As a result of his campaigning experiences in Palestine and Syria during the Great War, he is unable to settle down to the fogs and leaden skies of England. The author shows how by various devices he managed to smuggle himself on board the *Good Hope*, a project which was rendered easier by the fact that the captain of the vessel happened to be his uncle. Thus he leaves the Homeland for the free open life that one lives in a new country.

Arriving at the land of his adoption he makes his way to Queensland, where Mr. Colvin, whose wife was Mrs. Grey's sister, had emigrated twenty-five years previously. The young settler's first experience of the bush makes interesting reading, and is described in an attractive and realistic manner. The way in which this young, healthy, strong emigrant, possessed with courage and a resolute will, made good in the service of Colvin will bear thinking about by those who are looking towards that great country.

It was a severe struggle against adversity, and the destructive forces of Nature, such as drought, fire, and flood, not forgetting the innumerable insects which seek 'what they may despoil if not devour.' Nevertheless, these pages reflect a glorious sense of exhilaration and adventure in the life of the pioneer. After a hard day's clearing in the scrub what pleasure there is in gathering round the camp fire for supper! The mantle of darkness has covered the face of the earth and the surroundings take on the garments of romanticism. Overhead the stars shine brightly from the vault of heaven, the crescent moon gives fantastic shapes to the limbs of the trees, snatches of laughter and melody float across the still night, and the blending of 'bell-tinkle, bird-note, breeze-chant, sea-sound' makes an agreeable bush symphony!

Scenes are called up, memories of the past revived, faces appear and voices are heard. In his imagination the young settler returns to the old home, and sees the familiar faces lit up in the blaze of a crackling fire, till sleep-laden eyes and stiffened limbs proclaim a weariness which the events of a crowded day had hidden from their notice.

Such are a few of the vivid pen pictures which the author gives

us in a book that is full of interest, and, at the same time faithfully portrays conditions in a land that holds great promise for those who have the will to succeed. A thread of romance is introduced, without interfering with the flow of the story, and we believe the book will have many readers.

The Tonic of Laughter.

The *Halifax Courier* says that Mr. Percy Pegler's *Wheat and Some Chaff* is 'the sort of volume to read when life's burdens are oppressive and men don't play the game. Mr. Pegler has a happy knack of anchoring again a life that may have broken away from its moorings through the pressure of events. For this reason the essays will bring their influence to bear upon men broken, and help the unbroken to remain intact in character and faith.'

The essays are on everyday topics, yet fresh, striking, and original. His is the kind of humour that is likely to have a wide appeal, because of its spontaneity and common sense. The materials are gathered from the most diverse sources, but the reader can always understand what he is talking about.

Like the ocean breezes, this is a book that will invigorate. The cheerful Christian optimism of the writer also evidences a profound insight into life. The sentence 'You never did justice to a man so long as you allowed your attitude to him to be determined by his worst time' offers food for reflection and thought. The book can be had for 3s. 6d. net.

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Mr. Ronald C. Parkin's *Life of Jesus for Young People* (1s. 6d.; with striking coloured illustrations, 3s. 6d. net) has already won a large sale, and well deserves it. It seeks to 'portray the beauty of our Lord's life and character.' We see the environment of His earthly life. Young people will learn much from the opening chapter on the Holy Land. The story of the ministry is told with a beautiful chapter on the Friend of Children and the Scenes by the Sea of Galilee. We see Him as the Great Healer, as the Teacher whose discourses and parables are 'the most precious possession of the human race.' The Last Supper, the Trial, the Crucifixion, and the Easter Glory are all here, and all look forward to the wider sweep of that Kingdom that shall never end. It is a *Life of Jesus* of which young readers will never tire, and older folk will be eager to share it with them.

'Christianity and Spiritualism.'

Since the war the claims of Spiritualism have been

engaging the attention of all thoughtful men. The nearness of the unseen world is recognized, and there are occasions when the veil is drawn aside. In the words of the well-known critic, Benedetto Croce, even 'living history is contemporary history—dead annals freshly reinterpreted into present thought.' In days when many would base their assurance of Immortality upon sensible perception, the author (Arthur B. Bateman) renders good service in reminding us that 'unless there is a responsive awareness to the presence of God within the soul now, an incubation of this idea in a world of change, we shall never come to its consummation in the hereafter.'

His answer to the claims of leading Spiritualists, such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, that men no longer believe in God or the Bible is complete and convincing. Even supposing the hypothesis was valid, 'the Christian religion does not base its appeal for the suffrages of mankind on any spectacular demonstrations of the miraculous, but on love to God and to one's fellow man.' It makes demands upon human conduct which can be met only if we walk closely with Him.

The volume shows very clearly the ill-effects of excessive emotion, which not only reacts with grave results upon those who indulge it, but also unfits them for the noble task of redressing human wrongs. It was never intended we should spend our days weeping over imaginary sorrows while men and women all around us are crying out in their distress. The gratification of morbid curiosity, far from being an incentive to noble living, is egotism of a peculiarly repellent nature.

Mr. Bateman also deals with the vexed question, 'Do the Dead Speak?' and the book closes with a chapter on 'The Communion of Saints.' His estimates are quite free from any preconceived notions, and the book is an attempt to express the content of the Spiritualist school and the relation of their claims to Christianity. (Price 2s. net. Paper cover, 1s. net.)

The Drunkard's Friend.

To all those interested in temperance work the name of Mrs. Lewis will be remembered with affection and regard. Her Mission at Lees Hall, Blackburn, was one of the most successful Missions ever conducted by a woman. In the words of the President of the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union, this noble lady 'asked great things from God, expected them, and received them.' Strength given in times of desolation is not easily forgotten, and there are countless thousands who

owe to Mrs. Lewis the first ray of kindly light that pierced the gloom of their lives.

Although the book is intended to be the life-story of a devoted Christian woman, it is really an appeal to a higher life, which is the best of all appeals. The wonderful account of reclamation among men and women who had made shipwreck of their lives through drink is calculated to arouse the most indifferent from their apathy.

Mr. Moss, the author, gives intimate touches which make the book a delight to read. Especially interesting is the account of the Royal visit to Blackburn in July 1913. There was much speculation as to who would be presented to their Majesties, and when the list was found to contain the name of Mrs. Thomas Lewis, 'leading and devoted Temperance worker,' there was general satisfaction. (Price 3s. 6d. net. Obtainable from the author at Lees Hall, Blackburn.)

A Cheering Book.

The Cult of Keeping Afloat, by C. J. Cumberworth, B.A., D.Litt., is the author's thoughts on a variety of subjects, expressed in crisp, epigrammatic style. When the claims of life become almost overbearing, this book offers counsel which will enable the weary soul to take fresh courage. A current of buoyant optimism runs through the pages. When we seem to have broken away from our moorings through the pressure of events, Mr. Cumberworth shows us that by the exercise of resolution we need not sink.

To those with a disciplined imagination romance is to be found in the most unexpected places. The tingling hits of good-natured fun and kindly satire give a seasoning to life, for in the soul of humour there is always concealed a truth. As the reader travels through this book he will find that truest wisdom may be blended with brightest wit. When his mental vision is obscured by doubts, misgivings, and fears as to what the future holds in store, he will find help here to keep that calm and balanced outlook on life which is essential if he is to develop a full-orbed personality.

In effect, Mr. Cumberworth has given us a fine appeal to the higher Christian life. It is quite evidently the result of serious thought. Wealthy in suggestion, we especially recommend the book to the young, who would be well advised to reflect on the experiences of life which it contains. (2s. 6d. net.)

'England's Book of Praise.'

The value of music to dispel melancholy is a well-known fact.

All through the years men have put on the spirit of praise for the garment of heaviness. The chorus is swelled by each succeeding age, and so the mantle has passed from one bard to another down the centuries. The great Hymn-Book of the Jewish Church known to us as the Psalter is firmly entrenched in the love and affection of thousands of Christians. As the author of this book says in his introduction, 'it has inspired all the great hymn-writers, and has set a standard by which they have measured their own contributions to the Book of Praise.' So the river of song flows on, ever taking unto itself fresh tributaries of thanksgiving.

In *England's Book of Praise*, Mr. Telford has given us a most interesting account of the great part played by hymn-singing in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. In addition, Luther availed himself freely of the wonderful power of music, and his hymns gave a definite congregational character to Protestant worship. The hymns of Charles Wesley know nothing of that unstable mentality which Cowper described as a 'pleasing romantic melancholy.' As Abel Stevens says, his hymns 'march at times like lengthened processions with solemn grandeur; they sweep at other times like chariots of fire through the heavens.' This volume is sure to have many enthusiastic readers. The heritage of noble religious verse, which is the proud possession of our race, is brought home to the reader, and the author renders good service in reminding all of the inheritance into which they have entered. The Christian spirit runs throughout, and it will be a delight to read. It deserves the popularity which we believe it will have. (2s. 6d. net.)

Still Improving!

Each succeeding edition of *Cruden's Concordance* seems to be an improvement, and we again have pleasure in congratulating the editor on the last production of this invaluable reference book. To all students of the Bible it will be exceedingly useful. The range of references is unusually comprehensive and clearly shows the painstaking care which has been bestowed on their compilation. It is printed in clear bold type on good paper, and we venture to say that it contains more and fuller references than are available in any other volume at the price—3s. 6d. net.

The Story of Jesus.

This is a children's life of Christ specially written for boys and girls of tender years. It may be had for half a crown, and is clearly printed in bold type on good paper, fully illustrated in colours and black and white. There are eight coloured plates,

which add greatly to the attractiveness of the book, and a cover design also in colours.

Each stage in our Lord's life is set forth in a simple yet arresting way that holds the attention and wins the heart. It is a book that will help to bring the young to Him who is still the Friend of children. The volume should be found in every home where there are young folk.

'The World to which Christ Came.'

This is a survey which could only have been undertaken by a scholar of unusual knowledge and insight. Leading around the habitable globe, Mr. Frank Richards, M.A., starts from Judaea, which in its narrower meaning stretched from the Mediterranean to the mountains of Moab across the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea, and from the borders of Samaria to the Negeb in the south, which sloped to the Arabian Desert. Continuing the journey through Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea, he takes the reader to Syria and Arabia, gives a vivid description of the Jewish Dispersion, an event which provides the background for the Acts of the Apostles, and estimates the influence of Hellenism, or the diffusion of the Greek language and culture.

In the time of Christ Greek was still the chief means of international intercourse and trade; and though in Syria and Palestine Aramaic was the language of the people, it was in the Greek tongue that the apostles and their fellow workers preached the gospel to the Gentile world.

Egypt has always exercised a strange fascination over the imagination, and the author weaves a spell of intriguing interest as he deals with the Egyptian Book of the Dead. As all students of Egyptology will remember, the worship of Ra, the sun-god, was established at Heliopolis in the Second Prehistoric Age. For the worshippers of Osiris there was the prospect of cultivating the fields of that god in perpetual day in the far west, while in the Ra-worship the soul crossed the waters of death in the east to join the boat of the sun.

We then pass on to Rome, and the state of the Empire at the time of Christ is summarized in the author's masterly way. Rome was the mainstay of civilization, a fact which was of vital importance in the missionary journeys of St. Paul, as it gave free course for the good news of the gospel until it was checked by the persecution under Nero in A.D. 64. The salient points of the history of the period are dealt with up to the defeat of Varus in A.D. 9, with the loss of three legions, a disaster which

haunted the mind of Augustus for the remainder of his life. After an instructive chapter on the people of the Empire, Mr. Richards deals with its worship and thought, and succeeds in conveying much information in an interesting way.

The defeat of Crassus by the Parthians serves as an introduction for a masterly sketch of the Parthian Empire. The noblest religion in the Empire was Zoroastrianism, the recognized worship of the Medes and Persians. Later on came the rise of Mithraism with its mystical ceremonies and promise of a future life. But it yielded at last to Christianity, because it was only a conception, whereas Christ lived, died, and rose again. The chapter on the British Isles, which to the Romans of the Augustan age represented the 'World's End,' will be read with peculiar interest by students of history.

The book is an illuminating study of the world to which our Lord came, and, in addition to imparting much valuable information, reminds us forcibly of the fact that He came 'in the fullness of time.' (2s. 6d. net.)

The Ministry of Music.

Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century, by James T. Lightwood, describes the rise and progress of worship music from the publication of the Foundery Tune-Book in 1742 to the death of John Wesley. In the early days of the eighteenth century the musical part of the Church service in this country was sadly neglected, and what John Wesley heard when he was first taken to the village church at Epworth is best left to the imagination. The fact that music touches another life with beauty, and lifts it out of all that is petty and small, seems to have been entirely lost sight of in those early days.

Mr. Lightwood points out that, though Wesley was introduced to a knowledge of German hymns and chorales during his voyage to America, it was not until he visited St. Paul's Cathedral in the spring of 1738 that the ministry of music awakened a response within his heart. The anthem on that occasion was 'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice. O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint, &c.' The Foundery Tune-Book, and the 'conversion' hymn and its tune, lead the reader to a consideration of John Frederic Lampe, whom the late Rev. Richard Butterworth appropriately designated 'the first Methodist composer.' Handel's tunes are discussed with knowledge and understanding, and the author then introduces us to *Select Hymns with tunes annexed*, the successor of the 'Foundery' tune-book.

The thoroughness with which Wesley carried out everything he undertook is clearly shown in the directions by which he sought to impress upon his congregation the fact that hymn-singing should be an act of worship and adoration. The subject was discussed at the Dublin Conference in 1765, and again at Manchester. The chapter on 'Sacred Harmony' makes bright and attractive reading, and is an appropriate prelude to the author's remarks about organs, which contain much that is of interest to the general reader. The vagaries as well as the talent of the musical sons of Charles Wesley are described; and after an account of the Wesley concerts, Mr. Lightwood concludes an admirable little volume with excerpts from John Wesley's talks to the singers. (1s. net.)

'Positive Protestants.'

The question of the Revision of the Prayer Book has much exercised the minds of Churchmen during recent months, and the late Dr. George Eayrs has rendered timely service in putting the Protestant position in a singularly clear and impressive way, at the same time reminding his readers of the birthday and birthplace of the word.

The fundamental experiential knowledge of God in Christ is claimed by Evangelical Churchmen as implicit in the Christian religion. Ordinary human nature indwelt by Christ gives to the personality of man a union with his Creator, and it is by responsive love that he comes to know God. Thus the human spirit may become a partaker of the divine nature. Unlike Calvin, Protestants do not think of the Almighty in terms of elective will, but rather unite the holy majesty of God with His never-failing compassion. The right of private judgement is another point stressed by positive Protestants. The significant phrase 'in Christ' occurs one hundred and sixty-four times in St. Paul's writings. What limits, therefore, can be set to the operations of man indwelt by God? It is a conscious participation in the divine nature, and wholehearted co-operation in its creative and redemptive purposes.

The book is a clear setting forth of the Protestant case, by one who knows how to marshal his arguments in a convincing manner. The author writes with vigour, and is always stimulating. The little volume is entirely free from the spirit of rancour, and though there are some profound yet practical themes touched upon, a consciousness of the deep realities of faith and love and fellowship are never absent. (*Positive Protestants*, 1s. net.)

A Great Reformer.

All those who have visited Bedford are familiar with the statue of John Howard, the great prison reformer, which stands outside St. Paul's Church. At the time of his bi-centenary one of the leading London newspapers said: 'Not the conception but the practical application of the principle that a penalty to be deterrent, to be reformatory, need not and should not be cruel, we owe to him. It was he who taught the public conscience to demand that felons condemned must still be treated as men and women.' Mr. Rowe, who has already proved his ability as a biographer, makes the great philanthropist live by intimate touches which cause the narrative to stand out on a larger canvas, and gain in vividness and colour.

Though he had to face the opposition which all those who seek to improve the lot of humanity meet with, his fearlessness carried the day, and, in the words of Jeremy Bentham, 'he died a martyr after living an apostle.' (*John Howard, Prison Reformer and Philanthropist*, 'Noble Life Series,' 2s. net.)

A Stirring Book of Adventure.

The Girls of the Swallow Patrol makes capital reading for girls, who can scarcely fail to be interested by the many adventures which befall the Guides of the Swallow Patrol. It may be objected that stories of this type have been worn threadbare; but the author shows that, with the help of originality and imagination, it is always possible to devise fresh plots. The subject is treated in a terse, vivid style; the appetite of the reader is soon whetted, and the dramatic situations which arise are such as to excite the curiosity of the most prosaic. Moreover, the stories contain much sound advice. Though never burdensome, lessons are drawn which, if learned and applied, will save the reader not a little searching of heart in later life. A bright and sunny disposition has a happy way of becoming infectious. To appreciate the worth of others is one way of sharing their burden. Hearts are everywhere hungry for appreciation, and high-spirited girls who want something lively to read will not turn to these pages in vain. There is an undercurrent of seriousness which will draw their attention to the ideal of service for their comrades represented by the Girl Guide Movement. (2s. net.) The author of this delightful volume is S. E. Marten.

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